THE SECOND GREAT WAR
A Standard History

Edited by
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**DIARY OF THE WAR, 1939–40**

*December (518) January (605) February (694) March (770) April (807)*

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HANDSHAKE OF KINGLY CONFIDENCE

When the King visited his troops in France in December, 1918, he met the leading generals of the French and British armies, to one of whom he is being introduced by Lt.-Gen. Sir Alan Brooke, commander of the British and Corps. The little dog in the foreground took a liking to His Majesty and followed him devotedly on his tour of inspection.

British Official Photograph: Crown Copyright
LONE VIGIL IN THE BITTER COLD

At an advanced post beyond the Maginot Line, the French sentry (left) keeps a watchful eye upon No-man's-land, ready to shoot at the slightest sign of enemy activity. The bitter cold makes him thankful for the long cloak in which he is enveloped.

Photo, Courtesy of French Embassy

GERMAN SENTRY SURVEYS THE WINTRY SCENE

On the other side of the line German sentries keep similar watch, and on the right, in a Christmas-card setting, a German soldier, silhouetted against the bleak sky, surveys the countryside from the top of a fortification.

Photo, Associated Press
THE FIRST TEN WEEKS OF WAR

On November 12, 1939, exactly ten weeks after the Allies declared war on Germany, Mr. Winston Churchill broadcast his impressions of that period in a review as forcible, sagacious and enheartening as any of the statements with which the First Lord was wont to instruct and encourage the British people. The greater part of this tonic speech is reproduced below.

I thought it would be a good thing for me to tell you tonight how well the war has turned for the Allies during the first ten weeks. It is quite plain that the power of the British Empire and the French Republic to restore and revive the life of the Polish and Czechoslovak peoples, as well as to do a few other things which I will mention later, has been growing every day. Peaceful parliaments and the American influence for the individual and the abundant for the mass, start with a heavy handicap against a dictatorship whose sole theme has been war, the preparation for war, and the grinding up of everything and everybody into their military machine. In our island particularly we are very easily-moving in time of peace. We should like to share the blessings of peace with every nation; and to go on enjoying them ourselves. It is only after many vain attempts to remain at peace that we have been at last forced to go to war. We tried again and again to prevent this war, and for the sake of peace we put up with a lot of things happening which ought not to have happened. But now we are at war, and we are going to fight the war, and we are going to win it, until the other side has had enough of it. We are going to persevere as far as we can to the best of our ability, which is not small and it is always growing.

We are in a very different position now from what we were ten weeks ago. We are far stronger than we were ten weeks ago; we are far better prepared to endure the worst malice of Hitler and his Huns than we were at the beginning of September. Our Navy is stronger. Our anti-U-boat forces are the best in the world. Our Air Force is growing in numbers and improving in training every day. Our air raids precautions are very different from what they were at the outbreak of war. The attack of the United States has been confined to the United States, and we have paid a heavy toll. Nearly all the German ocean-going ships are hiding and rusting in neutral harbours, while our world-wide trade steadily proceeds in 4,000 vessels, of which 3,500 are constantly at sea, guarded by the Royal Navy. The superior quality of our Air Force has been proved in both pilots and machines over the enemy. Our aircraft have shot down fifteen German overseas raiders without losing one machine in the combat.

Time is on the Allies' Side

I do not doubt myself that time is on our side. I go so far as to say that if we come through the winter without any large or important battle, and the whole circumference of the globe is taken, we have gained the first campaign of the war, and we shall be able to act in this way. But the war is won when the war is over, and the battle is in the air. We have to gain the large and important parts of the world, and we have to keep them.

The 'Monstrous Apparition' of Hitlerism

The whole world is against Hitler and Hitlerism. Men of every race and clime feel that this monstrous apparition stands between them and the forward move which is their due, and for which they have striven. It is a monstrous illusion, and it is difficult to accommodate themselves to the change of front towards Bolshevism which Herr Hitler and his bad adviser, Herr von Ribbentrop, these marvellous twin contortions, have perpetrated. It is not to be understood that the Treaty of Versailles is a treaty for the defence of the British Empire and the French Republic, or for the.£

Holland and Belgium Apprehensive

They have not been chosen to meet the British Fleet, which has waited their attack in the Frith of Forth during the last week; they recall from the steel front of the French Army along the Maginot Line; but their double conscript is too strong in numbers to be measured by the French, and it is very small and it is always growing.

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'EVERY DAY FINDS US STRONGER'

Soon after his return from a visit to our Armies in France, Mr. Horace-Belisha, Secretary of State for War, made on November 22, 1939, the following statement in the House of Commons on the life, work and spirit of the British Expeditionary Force. His first review, on October 11, is reproduced in page 131.

By interposing a delay of several weeks the French Army facilitated the concentration of the French Army, and during this time, as the House is well aware, the British Army was also consolidating its positions.

When I last spoke to the House we had 150,000 men in France. Since then some thousands each week have followed them. By the spring of next year they will have been reinforced with incalculable armament. So will it continue till the cause is won.

Although there is no distinction remaining, it must be said that we could not have completed our formations in France without the assistance of the Territorial Army, whose peacetime training has adequately justified the generous sacrifices of leisure which it entailed. Territorial units reached France at a very much earlier stage and in greater numbers than in 1914. Do not, however, let this country pretend that within a proximate time Britain can furnish an Army of Continental dimensions.

The first men to be called up under obligatory service were summoned to the colours on July 15 this year. It was a timely innovation to our military practice, and we shall adapt it to the smooth and steady expansion of our effort. Nearly a million men are under intensive training in Great Britain. Our own defence by sea, land, and air, and the barriers against aggression long since established by the provisions and provision of the French Republic, give safe cover to our preparations.

The Maginot Line is some measure of the debt which free and independent nations owe to a country which, even when beset with financial troubles, did not hesitate to divert to its construction an untinted proportion of its financial resources.

France's 900-Mile Line of Defence

The major system of the Maginot Line—with its understoarre railways, its underground accommodation, and the batteries placed at points of strategic importance—extends along the frontier which divides France from our enemy. That frontier is 900 miles in extent.

But the low esteem in which the given word of Germany is held, illustrated, as it has repeatedly been, by the world-wide consensus that so spontaneously attaches to the slightest rumour of designs upon a neutral country, has necessitated that the defence of France should extend far beyond these limits. Indeed, whereas Germany has to defend 200 miles of territory against the possibility of attack by air alone, France has had to envisage the possibility of aggression by Germany along 800 miles, from the North Sea to the Alps.

We now share the task with them. There are French troops in the British part of the Line, and British troops in the French part of the Line. Understanding and good relations are complete.

The sector allotted to us is of considerable importance, and will be effectively provided in advance with field works. The task which fell to our soldiery on arrival was to add to and improve upon those, and this task they are undertaking with all speed.

This is a cause for war. The House can see, in its mind's eye, the busy work of our soldiers, digging and building. Under their hands blockhouses and pill boxes take shape, and with wheelbarrows and spades they turn up craters. There are numbers of square miles of this blank scene British troops pursing their objectives. An organisation of almost incomprehensible, gigantic dimensions has been established—a world within a world. The food, clothing, equipment, the correspondences, the muniments of a whole community are brought, and are distributed over a distance of hundreds of miles.

Some idea of the ground to be covered can be vividly represented by a single figure. In the initial stages the B.E.F. consumed 500 tons of petrol a day. Now, alternative bases have been established, additional locomotives will be introduced and permanent ways laid down. But still it is a question of victuals, vehicles, and more vehicles. We have already sent to France over 1,000 tons of spare parts and accessories.

It is a letter that must be delivered to the British public. It will be re-collected in Britain communications pass through numerous channels, with post-offices, messenger boys, sorting and distributing offices. The B.E.F. has an important organisation, and is dealing with 270,000 letters and 17,000 parcels a day—in proportion double the quantity handled in 1914.

Inevitable Discomforts of Active Service

A soldier's life, while it is campaigning, is never an easy one, and while everything practicable is being done to alleviate his lot, nothing can avoid the discomforts which are the inevitable accompaniment of active service conditions.

No man from personal experience understands better than the present Commander-in-Chief the circumstances of warfare and the requirements of his troops. His presence, inspiring confidence, is familiar in every camp.

The ground which our Army occupies is also well known to him, and it is inspiring, as one stands upon some famous bridge or some hill once designated by a number, to hear the vivid description of a well-remembered exploit or encounter.

On the visit from which we have just returned, I traversed with him almost the whole of the front, and came into the closest contact with officers and men of many different units. I can render at first hand an encouraging account of the forbearance and good temper of the troops.

Their health is exceptionally good, the sickness rate being actually lower than the peacetime rate at home. The billets are mainly in farmhouses and village buildings, but we have sent to France enough tents to house 20,000 men. We are building great hangars and depots for the accommodation of stores, and I hope that the House will realise that the organisation of the Army in tasks having no parallel by their magnitude and variety in civil life is illustrated by these exceptional defects which prove the rule.

Meanwhile, our Army grows. We dispatch arms and equipment to other parts of the world. We are preparing for all eventualities. At home our anti-aircraft and coast defence stations are continuously manned by personnel whose conditions of service in many cases are as hard as, and more lonely than, those in France, and whose duty is as important.

We have taken, besides the Militia classes which have been called up, over 85,000 under military reserves since the war began. Every week we have absorbed over 300 officers from the Emergency Reserve. Over 7,000 men from the ranks have been recommended for commissions, of whom 2,500 have already been posted to officer cadet training units.

These fit for active service in the divisional at home will be progressively relieved from duty at vulnerable points as the county home defence battalions are formed. There is room in these battalions, as in the pioneer battalions, for men past middle-age.

Thus the Army offers occupation in patriotic national service to old and young. The raising to 30,000 of the numbers of the A.T.S.—that admirable regiment of women—is another step of releasing active service. These in munition factories are doing equally valuable work, for on them depends the speed with which additional contingents can participate in the war theatre.

Thus the war proceeds. It is a war of endurance, a quality for which the British people is renowned. Every day that passes finds us stronger. On the economy of the enemy the passage of time has not the same effect. To win we would have to break through the Allied defences. An assault upon those is awaited with confidence by the French Supreme Commander. On our side we can afford to choose our opportunity. There is no decision in our ranks; there are no conflicting counsels. Our strategy is predetermined, and so is the issue of this struggle.
BRITAIN’S ARMY GOES INTO LINE ON THE ALLIED FRONT IN THE WEST

The B.E.F. Exchanges Shots with the Enemy—The King’s Visit to his Troops: His Message of Confidence—Gort’s Order of the Day: "We will Stop Them, and We will Win."—First British Soldiers to be Killed in Action—Why the Allies did not Take the Initiative—Christmas Messages of the Commander—End of the Year: Four Months of Vigilance

Twenty-one years after the "Cease Fire" just outside Mons on that day of Armistice in 1918, British troops were once again in action on the Western Front—in action against the same enemy but under very different circumstances. Then they were pursuing a beaten and rapidly disintegrating foe; in 1939 they were occupying positions in a war of siege, in a line or rather zone of defensive fortifications vastly greater and stronger than ever before.

Early in December it was revealed that a large force of the British Army was holding a portion of the Allied front; indeed, not only were the men of the B.E.F. in the front line, but they had exchanged shots with the enemy. The fact came out in the course of a report of the visit to France of the King, when, following his return to London, it was announced that amongst the troops whom he had inspected in the course of his tour were men who, only the night before, had returned to their rest billets after a turn of duty in the forward zone in which they had been engaged in one of those nocturnal rushes which feature so frequently in the laconic communiqués given out by the Allied High Commands.

His Majesty had crossed to France in a British destroyer on the afternoon of December 4, and spent five days as the guest of General Lord Gort at British G.H.Q. In bitterly cold weather and often through pouring rain, the procession of cars speeded through the sector allotted to the British Army, everywhere the King was greeted with the same voracious enthusiasm, and everywhere he found the same high note of efficiency, the same eager zeal and resolute purpose.

Whether he watched them from his car as he passed, them singing the songs that cheered their fathers’ marching feet, or whether he walked slowly down the long lines of smartly-groomed men on parade, or caught them in the domesticity of billets—always he found the same splendid qualities of the British fighting man.

Immediately on his return he sent a message to Lord Gort, published by him as an Order of the Day, in which after expressing his pleasure in visiting the troops in France and in having had the opportunity of seeing for himself something of the conditions in which they were living, and of the work on which they were engaged, he declared: "I am satisfied from all you have shown me that the British soldier of today is at least the equal of his predecessor both in efficiency and spirit, and concluded by sending an assurance of the complete and unfailing confidence placed in them by their fellow countrymen.

Even those who only a few hours before had come in from forward posts, who had taken part in a swift exchange of bullet and bomb, gave no signs of the arduous and dangerous undertaking in which they had so recently engaged. After he had inspected the guard of honour mounted by these men of the B.E.F. who were the first to go into action in the present war, His Majesty was shown the Order of the Day issued by their G.O.C.: "I wish every soldier in this force to realize," it read, "that this moment is an historical occasion. You have been chosen to go into action as the vanguard of the British Army. We shall be in the closest touch with our Allies, who have extended to us the warmest of welcomes. Unless every one of you had done his duty since arrival in France this unique honour would not have been conferred on you. The enemy awaits our arrival with expectancy. The opportunity is yours to maintain and enhance the glorious traditions inscribed on your Colours. Be vigilant, keep cool and fire low—till the last round and the last man, and a bit more. The eyes of your country as well as those of your allies and the whole Empire are on you. With justice on our side, your proud watchwords will be, "On ne passe pas, On les aura."—"We will stop them, and we will win."

Few details were revealed of the men or of their achievement, but it was understood that the units concerned were drawn from famous county regiments of the English Midlands, and that they were being increasingly engaged on patrol work in the most advanced lines of the defensive zone. Certain it was that they were not manning any of the vast subterranean fortresses of the Maginot Line; for that work men of special qualifications and long training are required, and these must be of necessity drawn from the ranks of the French army. The British troops, in fact, were far out in front of these bastions of concrete and steel, out on the fringe of "No-man’s-land", in a wilderness of wire and shell-holes, of abandoned villages and isolated farms which may have been occupied last night by British or French, but tonight will echo with the voices of Fritz—or Fricords, as the point calls them. There was no "line" in the sense that the word was used in the last war, but an elastic system of rifle-pits, machine-gun emplacements, control and observation posts.
THE KING'S VISIT TO THE WESTERN FRONT

These photographs, taken during the King's tour of inspection of the Western Front, show: above, His Majesty accompanied by General Gamelin, receiving the salute of French troops; below left, the King being shown the working of a predictor; below right, mounting to the top of a concrete defence work; in the circle, His Majesty followed by Lord Goschen, being piped ashore from a destroyer.

Photos, Planet Neue: British Official Photographs: Crown Copyright
By day there was little to show that the landscape was one of war. Farmers might be seen working in their fields; there were still chimneys that gave forth a cheerful smoke; cows—than which nothing surely can be more peaceful—grazed in the fields. Houses and hamlets, farms and villages seemed to doze, for, though they gave small sign of movement, they were for the most part undamaged by the hail of shell or bomb.

But that picture of curious inactivity was deceptive. Behind the shuttered windows armed men kept ceaseless watch, and peered from amidst the bells in the church towers.

Between the Lines

The bridges across the streams and rivers, the crossroads, the entrances to the village, the doorstep of a solitary house—all might be (and frequently were) mined, ready to be exploded by contact or fired from a distance. And if during the day there was little movement and few soldiers of either army to be seen, at night Briton and German played a deadly game of hide-and-seek in the dark or by the light of the winter moon, dodging here and there, tracking down the enemy, and being tracked down in turn—hunter and hunted, often at one and the same time. It was a warfare reminiscent of the Red Indians of the Wild West, a warfare of patrol and skirmish, of trap and ambush, in which the "sculls" that counted were prisoners carried off and casualties inflicted on an enemy taken by surprise.

At first the British soldiers engaged in these nocturnal prowlings were guided by French polices who knew every ditch and gully, every building and copse and wood, but soon they "found their feet" and proved themselves proficient in one of the most difficult and dangerous ways of making war. As soon as dark fell the khaki-clad patrols climbed over the parapet and crawled out through the gaps in the wire into the unknown. They moved here and there, searched houses and villages whose civilian population had long since been evacuated, ever on the look-out for traces of the passage of their opposite numbers in the German ranks. Always they had to be on the very tip-top of alertness, with bands ready to shoot and eyes keen for the slightest suggestion of a well-placed "booby trap" such as both sides delighted to plant.

About a week after the King returned to England the B.E.F. suffered its first battlefield casualties in this war. "The British now have their wounded and even their dead on French soil once again," ran the French communiqué, and it was semi-officially announced in Paris later that the casualties had been incurred in a skirmish in the neighbourhood of Buschdorf, near the Luxembourg frontier, and that the men engaged were Midlanders who were out on patrol when they came in contact with a German band on a similar mission.

Then it was that for the first time since the end of the Great War in 1918 Briton and German were at death grips, wielding rifle and hand-grenade in the night that enshrouded "No-man’s-land." A night or two later there was a similar skirmish: shots were exchanged and bombs thrown, all with a view to taking prisoners from whom vital information might be extracted.

One of the British wounded in these night reconnaissances was a sergeant-major of sixteen years' Army service, and when Mr. Douglas Williams of the "Daily Telegraph" went to see him...
in the whitewashed ward of a French hospital in a town behind the Maginot Line, he had an interesting story to tell.

On the night in question he had received orders to take out a patrol a small party of a Midland regiment. It was bitterly cold, with occasional flurries of snow, and pitch dark. Wearing warm leather jerkins over their battle dress and high rubber boots, and armed with rifles and hand grenades, the little party left the security of their own lines and went out into "No-man's-land," worming their way over rough ground, so they returned to attend to their wounded. A man was dispatched to company headquarters to ask for stretcher-bearers, and pending their arrival he made ready to return the way they had come. The wounded were carefully bundled into greatcoats and carried by four men, each holding a corner of the coat, across the uneven and treacherous ground until they encountered the relief party. So with the wounded sergeant-major at its head the little party made its way across two miles of mud and water. Every twenty

William Friday, who fell while leading a patrol on December 9. The French losses in the first three months of war on the West were stated by M. Daladier just before Christmas to be 2,186 soldiers and 42 airmen. How different from 1914, when by Christmas Britain and France had to mourn the loss of over a half-a-million of brave lives! No fact could be more eloquent of the extraordinary difference in the opening stages of the First Great War and of the Second.

Far truer of 1939 than at any time between 1914 and 1918 was it to say that it was "All quiet on the Western Front." The great offensive, so often threatened by the enemy, so long anticipated and so carefully prepared for by the Allies, tarried. Day after day, night after night, the French and British sentinels peered across the fields that separated them from the German outposts, and still the grey-clad hordes did not come. Those who knew of what would meet them if once they left their lines—the withering, unwithstandable fire of artillery and machine-guns, of Bee and rifle—could not find it in their hearts to blame the foe's inactivity. But all the same it was definitely boring. "We came out here for a war," the Bishop of Fulham was told during a visit to the front, "and we want to know when it is going to begin."

In combating this sense of boredom, excellent work was done by the Entertainments National Service Association (E.N.S.A.) in association with the Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes (N.A.A.F.I.). Cinema units and companies of theatrical and music-hall artists went to France and put on excellent programmes, which were accorded the most sincere and whole-hearted appreciation.

There were some who urged that something should be done to break in military fashion what they described as the "stalemate" on the Western Front. This view was effectively countered by M. Daladier in his address to the French Chamber on November 30. "Contrary to all forecasts," he said, "military operations have not yet developed with that violence and rapid and brutal extension over wide fronts which they seemed likely to assume. But," went on the Premier, "we ought not to take this initiative. This war is to us a war for our security and our liberty. Our rule for those who defend us is economy in blood and economy in suffering. Conquerors launched out on adventure can sacrifice
CHRISTMAS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Although it is difficult to reconcile the "good will" sentiments of Christmas with warfare, the traditional festival brought some moments of cheer into the dangerous and often monotonous existence of the soldiers at the Front. Our photographs show how soldiers of the German (above), French (right) and British (below) armies kept the Christmas of 1915 in unaccustomed surroundings, far from their own folks.

Photos, Keystone; Courtesy of the French Ministry; British Official Photograph. Column Copyright
THE PREMIER SEES FOR HIMSELF

Mr. Neville Chamberlain is seen above, during a tour of the Western Front, inspecting a British field gun in its camouflaged emplacement. On his return to London, the Premier praised the B.E.F. and said: "I am simply amazed at the progress they have made."

British Official Photograph: Crown Copyright

hundreds and thousands of men in mud offensives. Those who defend their soil and their liberty are careful to avoid as far as possible the sacrifice of human lives. Such is the rule of our Government and the chiefs of our Armies. Yet while hustanding the blood of Frenchmen we are accumulating without truce or respite powerful means which give us the certainty of being able to break their assaults and which would permit us, if necessary, to attack at the right moment with the minimum of loss and the certainty of success."

It was during this state of semi-war, in which the huge armies frowned at one another from behind massive fortifications and the only fighting was between patrols and outposts in the indeterminate wastes that lay between the rival lines, that Christmas of 1939 dawned. Heavy frost covered the countryside with rime, and the men on duty in the outposts strained their eyes to see through billowing banks of fog. The guns were mostly silent, though for some days past an artillery duel had been intermittent. Behind the line in their billets and log huts and emplacements the British troops had traditional Christmas fare and a bumper mail of letters and parcels, and even just behind the outposts held by the British in their sector of the Maginot Line there was a turkey for every thirty-two men and a Christmas pudding for every sixteen—ready-cooked, of course, for in those exposed positions, within sight of the enemy, no fires were permitted.

Amongst the French Christmas passed in the same peaceful fashion. The great guns roared now and again, but there were no infantry attacks. In the huge subterranean forts of the Maginot Line and in the churches of the little villages in the rear, midnight Mass was celebrated by priests who in this war as in the last found their duty at the front. Champagne, hot wine, cigars, thousands and thousands of parcels, Christmas trees, cinematograph shows, and even miracle plays in which the actors were men in uniform—these were the incidents in the French celebrations of the festival of Noel.

General Gamelin, Supreme Commander of the Allied Armies, issued two special Christmas messages to the troops. The first, dated from General Headquarters on December 23, ran: "On the approach of the New Year the Commander-in-Chief sends to the whole army his most affectionate greetings. The brilliant actions of the forces, the immense labours of our cause are gauges of success."

In the second the Generalissimo addressed the British Army. "Soldiers of the British Empire," it ran, "and particularly you who are serving in France under Lord Gort, I send you the very warm Christmas greetings of your comrades of the French Armies. The festival of Christmas stands for the future, and our effort in this way is creating the future. That future will be what we all mean it to be, for the courage of our men is unanswerable."

Then we may quote the message of good cheer to the peoples of the Empire by Lord Gort. "Once more," he said, "within the memory of many of us, a British Expeditionary Force is spending Christmas in France, and once again under the leadership of a great soldier of France the Allied Armies stand united to resist aggression. In the years that lie ahead difficulties and dangers will undoubtedly arise... but they will be surmounted, owing, on the one hand, to the close understanding which today exists between the French nation and ourselves, and, on the other hand, to the knowledge that your thoughts are with us at all times.... In whatever part of the Empire you may dwell I extend to you all cordial good wishes for Christmas and the New Year."

So the year 1939 drew to a close; four months had passed during which the opposing forces had never got to real grips. In the opening weeks the German military machine had been fully occupied in crushing Polish resistance—and the French were able to complete their mobilization and to man the Maginot Line. But it was inconceivable that Germany would stay her hand for long. The possible (and probable) strategic alternatives in a Franco-German war were familiar to any officer who had passed through a staff college of a European military service. The Germans themselves, in the years since the war of 1914-18, had virtually charted the course of an advance on France. Even in the French Press, at this period, probable Nazi moves had been predicted.

Presumably Gamelin had made the requisite dispositions to meet these contingencies, though he was at a disadvantage as far as the Franco-Belgian frontier was concerned, for cooperation between France and Belgium had not been arranged by any formal Staff pourparlers, if indeed it had been officially discussed at all. The French frontier on that side lay open to an invader who chose to violate Belgian neutrality, for only comparatively weak defences had been built on the stretch from Montreuil to the Channel coast. Belgium herself, anxious to preserve scrupulous neutrality, had frowned upon the construction of anything stronger.
DESTRUCTION WROUGHT IN BORDERLINE BATTLES

In the upper photograph two French soldiers are keeping watch from the windows of a ruined house on the Moselle front, while a third guards the cellar passage. At the bottom (left), the unfortunate fate of a house in a German village caught between two fires. Right, a "booby trap" found by the French, consisting of hand grenades attached to a cart. Such traps were numerous in No-man's-land.

Photos, Keystone
TO THE WOMEN OF THE ALLIED PEOPLES

With many fields of national service open to them, women joined energetically in the prosecution of the War, and to these active participants the Queen paid tribute in her broadcast on November 11, 1918. With perhaps even more sympathy did Her Majesty and Mrs. Chamberlain—speaking to the women of France—acclaim the quiet courage of those who carried on at home, enduring separation and the monotony and petty hardships of the daily round.

This last time I broadcast a message was at Halifax, Nova Scotia, when I said a few words of farewell to all the women and children who had welcomed the King and myself so kindly during our visits to Canada and the United States of America.

The world was then at peace, and for seven happy weeks we had moved in an atmosphere of such good will and human kindness that the very idea of strife and bloodshed seemed impossible. The recollection of it still warms my heart and gives me courage.

I speak today in circumstances sadly different. For twenty years we have kept this day of remembrance as one consecrated to the memory of past and never-to-be-forgotten sacrifice, and now the peace which that sacrifice made possible has been broken, and once again we have been forced into war.

I know that you would wish me to voice, in the name of the women of the British Empire, our deep and abiding sympathy with those on whom the first cruel and shattering blows have fallen—the women of Poland. Nor do we forget the gallant womanhood of France, who are called on to share with us again the hardships and sorrows of war.

War has at all times called for the fortitude of women. Even in other days, when it was an affair of fighting forces only, wives and mothers at home suffered constant anxiety for their dear ones, and too often the misery of bereavement. Their lot was all the harder because they felt that their duties could not be left behind; they must carry them through, through their own courage and devotion, the men at the front.

Now this is all changed, for we, no less than men, have real and vital work to do. To us also is given the proud privilege of serving our country in her hour of need.

The call has come, and from my heart I thank you, the women of our great Empire, for the way that you have answered it. The tasks that you have undertaken, whether at home or in distant lands, cover every field of national service, and I would like to extend my tribute to all of you who are giving such splendid and selfless help in the time of trouble.

Courage in Facing Monotonous Duties

At the same time I do not forget the humbler part which so many of you have to play in these trying times. I know that it is not so difficult to do the big things. The novelty, the excitement of the new and interesting duties have an exhilaration of their own. But these tasks are not for every woman. It is the thousand and one worries and irritations in carrying on wartime life in ordinary homes which are so often hard to bear.

Many of you have had to see your family life broken up—your husbands sent to the front to fight for your country. Your children have been evacuted to places of greater safety. The King and I know what it means to be parted from our children, and we can sympathize with those of you who have been sent away from those you love. But we feel that, in carrying on your home duties and meeting all these worries cheerfully, you are giving real service to the country.

You are taking your part in keeping the home front, which will have dangers of its own, stable and strong. It is, after all, for our homes and for their security that we are fighting, and we must do our best to see that, despite all the difficulty of these days, our homes do not lose those very qualities which make them the background as well as the joy of our lives.

Woman of all lands, year by year it will be possible to see about building a new and better world, where peace and good will shall abide. That day must come. Meanwhile to all of you, in every corner of the Empire, who are doing such fine work in all our sees, or who are carrying on at home amidst the trials of these days, I would give a message of hope and encouragement.

We have all a part to play and I know you will not fail in yours, remembering always that the greater your courage and devotion, the sooner shall we see again in our midst the happy ordered life for which we long.

Only when we have won through to an enduring peace shall we be free to work moldered for the greater happiness and well-being of all mankind.

We put our trust in God. Who is our refuge and strength in all times of trouble. I pray with all my heart that He may bless and guide and keep you always.

MRS. CHAMBERLAIN IN A BROADCAST TO THE WOMEN OF FRANCE, DECEMBER 31, 1918

Today our two countries are sharing the trials and sorrows of war. I am convinced that the feelings of friendship which already bind us together have gained a new depth and a new force by the sacrifices which we are both making in this great struggle. To make it on behalf of a cause which is in effect that of all humanity. The past four months have brought to many of you hardships, and separation from those you love. For some among you, as among the women of England, this New Year will be darkened by mourning for those who have made the supreme sacrifice for their country. To these I would say, we know that their loss is not and will not be in vain for they will have helped to make secure the future for our children.

I would like to send my special greetings to those who have been compelled for the time being to leave their homes in the Eastern Provinces or in other dangerous areas. We know from our own experience how many serious problems may be set up by this necessary transfer of population. But whether you are in your own homes or billeted in those of others, whether you are looking after your family or engaged in work on the land, industry, or the service of the State, you are playing your part in the National Defence and you must feel happy in knowing that you are making your contribution to the final victory.

We in this country admire the wonderful spirit which inspires your husbands, your brothers, and your sons, who are defending our country on land, on the sea, and in the air. We share your pride in their achievements and we are grateful for the part they are playing in the common cause.

I receive many letters not only from French mothers and wives but also from French soldiers. These letters help me to understand something of your intimate thoughts, and have learned how much your fortitude and your courage sustain your fighting men. That indomitable fortitude has always been one of your most noble characteristics.

My husband, in describing to me his visit to France just before Christmas...spoke of the courage of the women of France and of the great kindness which you are showing to our soldiers. Such kindness of heart is a bond which draws even more closely together the women of our two countries.

War has always meant for women hardship and sorrow, and modern war brings to every one of us some measure of suffering or anxiety, but we bear these with fortitude because we look forward with confidence to the triumph of our cause and that day when victory is won. We have won through to an enduring peace it will be our common aim to work together for the happiness and well-being of mankind.
Chapter 38

WOMEN'S EFFORT IN THE EARLY STAGES OF THE WAR: A MAGNIFICENT RALLY


Women love peace perhaps even more than men. War means so much to them: the loss, probably, of their nearest and dearest, the wrecking of their home; yet they enter into war work with even more fervour than the men. Is it because they are still new to it? Just as the child is so proud to have a tiny dustpan and brush because she feels she is doing something real to help—the dustpan and brush have not yet become the symbol of toil—so the women in the War Services look not at the toil but at the symbol which they are so proud to wield.

They worked so hard preparing for the war that women drivers in the Auxiliary Territorial Service who went to camp in August, 1939, had to go to bed for a day before returning to their normal occupations! The officers of the A.T.S. were thankful for that week or fortnight in camp which about half of the force experienced. In it the women came into touch with real Army life; they learned to use the Army cooking utensils, which are quite different from those in a modern flat; they got used to sleeping on Army "biscuits."

In preparation for war 48 Royal Air Force Companies of the A.T.S. were in July, 1939, invited to join the Women's Auxiliary Air Force. Thereupon W.A.A.F. they abandoned the name "Waaf," which the Women's Royal Air Force had borne in the war of 1914-18. The "Waacs" had already been consigned to the history of the First Great War, and the "Ats" had taken their place; the "Wrens" alone survived. Eagerly the "Wrens" of the last war read the Admiralty's announcement in the spring of 1939 that a new W.R.N.S. was to be formed. Their hopes of serving the Navy again, however, were doomed for the majority at the outset. The new service was only for women living near the big naval ports; and the age limit was 18-50. The outbreak of war, therefore, found but a nucleus service working at the ports.

The firewomen were the first women in uniform to attract the attention of Londoners before the war began. As early as April, 1939, clad in smart navy double-breasted jackets with silver buttons, and wearing skiting caps having the A.F.S. badge in red, they made many recruits outside County Hall beside the Auxiliary Fire Brigade during the L.C.C. jubilee celebrations.

Some of them had already enrolled in the spring of 1938, and the September crisis increased their numbers; but it was in July, 1939, that recruiting became really fast. Mobilization on September I found a body of keen firewomen ready trained, for they had given their spare time to making themselves proficient. Later they numbered 4,500 full-time and 1,117 part-time auxiliaries in London alone. In their preparations they were part of the great Air Raid Precaution Army. The Women Auxiliary Ambulance drivers had passed their test in spare time more than a year before war began. They had been to first-aid lectures; they had driven in the dark without lights. When war was declared, all they had to do was to don their trousers and take regular shifts night and day at their garages.

The first-aid lectures were given in those early days in the street beside an ambulance. One of the number acted as patient, selecting her own ailment; and after being given attention, she was driven to the nearest hospital. The ambulances for the most part were tradesmen's carts fitted up with stretchers.

Boredom did not hit the ambulance drivers so hard as some of the workers who waited for air raids which did not come. Taxi-cab drivers were attached to each London ambulance station in

'ATS' AT WORK IN AN ARMOURY

Succeeding the once-famous "Waacs," the "Ats," as the women of the Auxiliary Territorial Service were called, helped the country by releasing men in the Army from many routine duties. Above, two "Ats" are seen in an armory, one cleaning a rifle with a regulation pull-through, and the other adjusting an anti-tank rifle.
WOMEN SERVANTS OF THE NATIONAL CAUSE

From the beginning of the war, Queen Elizabeth set an example to the women of the nation, and every woman's work for the war received her encouragement. On the left she is seen sewing with members of the Household Staff at Buckingham Palace. Below, Her Royal Highness the Princess Royal (at the head of the table) is seen at work with some ladies of Harewood, making hospital supplies.

Photos: Keystone; Topical Press; Universal; Pictorial Press; British International Photos; Sport de General

Above, left, Mrs. Laughton Mathews, leader of the Women's Royal Naval Service; on right, Lady Beryl Oliver, chief of the V.A.D. Below, left, Dame Joanna Cruickshank, Matron-in-Chief of the British Red Cross and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem; centre, Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, Commandant of the Auxiliary Territorial Service; right, Miss K. J. Trefusis Forbes, Director of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force.
order to teach the women drivers knowledge of London, and great were the arguments! The women, who had all driven their own cars in London, thought privately that they knew their way about just as well as the taxi-men. The men were the teachers, however, and they felt bound to stick to what they called their "route" in spite of the arguments of the ladies.

A kind of exhilaration possessed women during the first few days of the war, for they felt they were wanted. Had not the Home Secretary invited the Dowager Lady Reading, in June, 1938, to form the biggest women's organization ever known for civil defence? Were not the three Women's National Services already organized, called into being by the Navy, the Army, and the Royal Air Force? Looking back to 1914, women remembered that it was then two solid years before they had had Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps, and three years before the Women's Land Army was allowed.

It is true that in September, 1939, over 5,000 business and professional women were on the register of the Women's Employment Federation awaiting war work, but Mrs. Oliver Strachey, the Secretary, said:

"At any rate, prejudice is not holding up the work as it did in 1914. After the last war I think the Government realized that women, both paid and unpaid, were a reserve of strength, and they thought they would use it straight away this time.

"The change in the attitude of the Government is strikingly illustrated by the inclusion of women for the first time in the Army Medical Corps. Almost on the exact parallel date that the announcement was made, in 1939, that women doctors were to have the same rank and pay as men in the R.A.M.C., Dr. Elsie Inglis in 1914 went to the War Office and offered her services with

those of other medical women. The Chief of the Medical Service said in effect: 'My dear lady, the best thing you can do is to go home and keep quiet!'

At the outbreak of war Women's Voluntary Services numbered 370,000 members, and the Government and the local authorities were already using them for the evacuation of children and mothers and hospital patients. During the first month of the war over 6,000 volunteers were enrolled, bringing the total since June, 1938, up to nearly half a million. A one-way passage had to be arranged at the London headquarters for the 11,000 volunteers in September. As many as 1,000 women were interviewed in a day, and either enrolled for civil defence work or passed on to their appropriate service.

There was work in plenty for the leisureed woman or the woman who could work without pay. During the war of 1914-18 it had been the industrial women who were in distress, and the Queen's Work for Women Fund had to provide workrooms for them. This time it was the business and professional women for whom special registers had to be opened—but with very little result, because of lack of work. The British Federation of Business and Professional Women collected reports of unemployment and evidence of hardships resulting from the war.

Visiting teachers of art, music, etc., were left behind in towns from which children were evacuated. Their rents, of course, went on, and they were faced with the maintenance, sometimes, of dependants. Between 30 per cent and 40 per cent of a membership of 11,500 of the Chartered Society of Massage and Medical Gymnastics were thrown out of employment. Nine hundred full-time professional artists, of whom half
were women, lost their employment on the outbreak of war.

Secretaries, book-keepers, and other people holding office positions of trust were dismissed wholesale, in most cases with only a week's salary. A large percentage of housekeepers and hotel and institution managers lost their posts. These and other cases of hardship were presented to seven women M.P.'s at the House of Commons on November 23 by a deputation, organized by the British Federation of Business and Professional Women, of 14 professional groups representing about 30,000 women. Miss Caroline Hadett, the chairman, and Mrs. Howard Roberts, the hon. secretary, led them. It was a meeting that drew the business women together. Lady Astor, in the chair, invited them to meet for discussion at her home once a month. The women M.P.'s decided to ask the Minister of Labour to meet them and discuss the unemployment of business and professional women. Mr. Ernest Brown accepted at once, and on November 28 an informal meeting took place in the House of Commons. As a result, both the women M.P.'s and the Federation were satisfied that when work for which business or professional women were eligible became available in the national services, preference would be given to women who had lost employment through the war. Further, the women's representatives felt that they had impressed upon the Minister that business women should have special consideration at Employment Exchanges. The Minister proposed to have a supplementary register for men and women of business or professional type, and this was discussed with the Federation.

Women's special contribution to the promotion of the war is in two main directions:
(a) in releasing men by the Women's Services; and (b) in the performance of work which only women can do.

The Auxiliary Territorial Service aims at releasing soldiers from any work a woman can do. They take over the cook-house, even with the great old-fashioned ovens and cauldrons, stone floors, and steps leading up to it. The "Ats" take over the cleaning, under the proud name of Orderlies; they act the part of kitchenmaids and housemaids. Those who have been parlourmaids are detailed to wait on the officers.

The "Ats" also look after the stores, fitting the men with boots and other equipment, as well as the women. Office routine is so different in the Army that a three weeks' course of training is given the clerical company of the A.T.S. at the headquarters of the Eastern Command. They learn, for instance, that in the army a letter is never addressed "Dear Sir"; it is always in memorandum form. They have become familiar with a variety of forms.

Women motor drivers relieve the men of driving the lighter lorries and transport vans; they drive officers and take messages. In their spare time the drivers attend a course of instruction on maintenance and repairs.

All kinds of women have enrolled: maidservants, girls, buyers in shops and shop assistants, dressmakers, hairdressers, factory girls and domestic workers, waitresses and tenders. They are treated very much as soldiers, and it is their pride that it is so. Rations are the same as for men, but women have four-fifths of the men's ration; the pay is two-thirds of that of the corresponding army rank. Leave is the
A GENERATION APART

In 1939, twenty-five years before, the women of Britain gladly carried on the work of their menfolk called overseas. The spirit of the country had not changed, but the fashions had, as we see by comparing the photographs on the left showing the postwomen of 1914–18 and of 1940.

WOMEN WARTIME WORKERS

Certainly the bus "conductor" of 1940 is a smarter figure than her predecessor of a generation before, as can be seen by the two photographs above, but they both put the same "punch" into their work. Even the more muscular jobs are not the exclusive prerogative of men, and the "weaker sex" shows to good advantage in wartime—as the photographs of women porters (1914 and 1940) on the right testify.

Photo, Fear ; Topical Press
The freedom of the service is very remarkable and the attitude of the officers is modern and democratic. Dame Helen Gwynne-Vaughan, the Director, was Chief Controller of the Queen Mary's Army Auxiliary Corps in France in 1917, and later she directed the Women's Royal Air Force. She understands young people and she has selected officers with the same quality. Miss K. J. Treffus Forbes, Director of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force, was one of her officers in the A.T.S. She commanded her own R.A.F. Company. Thus, when the Women's Auxiliary Air Force was formed in June, 1939, a

Like the other women's services, the Wrens have a smart uniform. It has a double-breasted navy coat cut like that of a naval officer. The old type of admiral's hat has been retained for the officers, but the ratings wear a round hat with up-turned sides encircled by a ribbon with the name of their ship.

Mrs. Laughton Mathews, the Director of the W.R.N.S., was the first officer to be trained in the service during the last war. Officers have a fortnight's course at the Royal Naval College, Greenwich.

Sea-loving girls jumped at the opportunity offered by the Port of London Authority to man the hospital ships on the Thames. There was no pay time task. They slept one night on board ship and one night on land. Coming aboard sometimes meant climbing twenty feet on iron ladders and crossing over perhaps six barges. The hospital ships were the Thames pleasure steamers, and they were just off the summer run when war broke out. The first thing the girls had to do was to clean them. The crew showed them how to coil ropes and put a bucket over the side. The girls made special application to the P.L.A. for brass polish.

Exercises were held daily in taking off casualties from barges and rendering first aid. Assisting the medical officer on each ship were three fully trained nurses and ten nursing auxiliaries, two seamen, and two ex-army surgeons.

First-aid posts on land under the Red Cross and St. John War Organization were dotted every few yards in the streets of London. They were in odd and interesting places—St. James's Palace, the House of Lords, an old stable. To each was attached one trained nurse enrolled under the Civil Nursing Reserve and a number of Auxiliary nurses. Everything was kept ready day by day for an emergency; lotions were ready; dressings sterilized. Practices were often held, when a volunteer in the street had a splint put on and was carried by the stretcher party to the aid post.

Most posts had their own "dirty side" for gas casualties. String bags were ready for the patient in which to put his clothes, and a grease-proof bag for his valuables; a spray was provided where he could be thoroughly washed. Clean pyjamas were awaiting, a cloak and hood, and shoes, and a camp chair in which to rest.

Air Raid Wardens' posts, in which women play a large part, were just as numerous as the aid posts. They varied according to the borough, but the work was the same.
POWERFUL DEFENDER OF FRANCE’S FRONTIERS

In 1914 the French had excellent light field artillery, but were sadly deficient in heavy guns. In 1918 France’s Army was provided with great numbers of artillery both light and heavy, and here a French 155-mm. gun is seen in the camouflaged gun-pit on the Western Front. It has been christened the "Lyon Clever," in honour of a well-known music-hall artist.

Photo, Keystone
AIRMEN WHO PROVED THEIR WORTH

British bombers and German fighters came to grips in a great aerial battle off Heligoland on December 18, 1939, described in page 423. "The battle for the Wellington Bombers, the official report judiciously observed, "was a test of every skill and of German's newest fighter planes' (the Kiwi multinational mixture) to break them up." Between 4 in and 100 miles.

HEROES OF HELIGOLAND AIR BATTLE

were engaged in the battle. Seven British bombers failed to reach home, but though these 'planes were hit more than three times their 'fighters' opponents, they brought down at least one of the German aircraft (one British machine accounting for five of them). Here some of the British crews of the Wellingtons are seen back on their bases aerodrome.
Somewhere on the Western Front, in an emplacement hidden by retting camouflage and protected by sandbags, this British gun-crew, gas-masked and steel-helmeted, is carrying out a routine drill at night. Although the first months of the war were marked by comparative quiet and little enemy activity, the Allies relaxed none of their precautions, and the drill enabled training such as that here shown to be perfected.

British Official Photograph; Crown Copyright.
In some districts women wardens patrolled the streets in pairs, in turn with the men. Girls manned the telephones at the control post, which is the nerve centre of the A.R.P.

A nurses' department was set up by the Red Cross and St. John War Organization, with Dame Joanna Cruickshank as Matron-in-Chief. The first activity was to enrol trained nurses for the emergency, and great care was taken that they should be first-class nurses. Personnel were supplied to the Army Nursing Service, and nurses were in reserve for the R.A.F.

"A national service has been performed by nurses in their spare time, and by unemployed nurses," said Dame Joanna. "They have instructed and examined a very large number of women in Home Nursing, under the auspices of the Red Cross and St. John. Many of the students belong to the women's voluntary services."

Nurses have already been awarded medals for gallantry in the war. Commandant Vera Cave, Nurse Isabel Mary Jukes, and Nurse Florence Edith Walker went to the assistance of a man who had fallen out of a train on rails which they thought were electrified. The Red Cross special service cross was also awarded to Mrs. Walters for giving aid to an injured pilot who crashed near an aerodrome on September 26.

Little was heard of the V.A.D.s during the opening months of war, but that was only because there had been few casualties. About 20,000 V.A.D.s under the direction of Dame Beryl Oliver were ready for any emergency.

The unity of all women in war work answers the call of the Queen in her broadcast on November 12, 1939:

"We have all a part to play and I know you will not fail in your mission, remembering always that the greater your courage and devotion, the sooner shall we see again in our midst the happy, ordered life for which we long."

Her Majesty played her part valiantly from the beginning of the war. She said that the little Princess "miss their Mummy and Daddy," but Her Majesty set an example to the mothers of the nation in not bringing her children back to London. She visited the evacuated children and had dinner with them. Every woman's work for the war restricted her encouragement. Although not a needlewoman, the Queen started a "Sewing Bee" at the Palace in order to aid the Red Cross.

Queen Mary, whose work in the war of 1914-18 can never be forgotten, is head of all military and naval nursing services. The maternity home for wives of officers of the three services was only one of the new war charities to which Queen Mary at once gave her interest and help.

The Princess Royal identified herself with the Auxiliary Territorial Service from the first. When H.R.H. visited the Women's Camp at Strensall, Yorkshire, last July, she was in the khaki uniform of the A.T.S. The Princess is Controler, West Riding, Yorkshire, and is constantly inspecting companies of the A.T.S. The Princess, like many other women, took up knitting for the soldiers. She is head of the Comforts Fund for her own Regiments, the Royal Scots (the Royal Regiment) and the

were much encouraged by the interest and kindness of this Royal lady, who came in the uniform of St. John Ambulance, and made them feel that she was one of themselves. With the same care the Duchess visited Women's Voluntary Aid Centres and the A.R.P. posts. She worked with a Working Party in her village, and visited others.

When she came for a brief visit to Buckingham Palace it was not for a holiday, but to do her work as President of the Central Hospital Supplies of the Red Cross and St. John War Organization, and in other ways.

V.A.D. PREPARED FOR ACTION

When war came the V.A.D. at once responded to the call, ready to carry on the great work it did in the previous war. Above, V.A.D. helpers are seen at work during A.R.P. exercises at Erith, in Kent, in an underground emergency hospital built by the Borough Council.

Photo, John Tooyham

Royal Corps of Signals. She worked also at the Hospital Supply depot in Harewood village. With her own village people and members of her household, she made bandages and splints. Her home was placed at the disposal of the British Red Cross for an auxiliary hospital.

The first war work of the Duchess of Gloucester was to help her own tenant farmers to get in the harvest. She responded at once to the appeal for everybody's help by doing the stooping with her lady-in-waiting, and by lending her grooves and gardeners and anybody who could be spared to do the harvesting.

As deputy for the Queen, the Duchess visited first-aid posts in every town in her home county. Women who were trying not to be bored waiting for casualties (which happily did not come)

The Duchess of Kent went at once to the hospital at Iver, where she was living when war broke out, and gave her aid in making bandages and swabs. Later she went to Scotland, constantly touring the country, visiting and encouraging the women voluntary workers in their various activities. Like other of the Royal ladies, the Duchess knitted socks and hospital stockings, and she crocheted blankets. She attended first-aid classes with naval officers' wives and the people living on the estate.

While the Queen upheld the women's work in the South, Queen Mary and the other Royal ladies each took a different centre, and their interest and hard work were a great inspiration to women in town and country, in mansion and cottage.
WOMEN'S SERVICES IN THE WAR

A.R.P., Fire and Ambulance Services

Air Raid Precautions

There are something like 1,500,000 or 1,700,000 A.R.P. workers, of whom a large proportion are women. They serve as wardens, fire-fighters, and ambulance drivers.

Auxiliary Ambulance Drivers

The women drivers are trained to drive in the dark, and in gas-masks. They know the way to all the hospitals in their district, and they have had a course of first-aid training. In London alone more than 4,000 vehicles were needed, in addition to a similar number of private cars used to transport sitting casualties. Many of the drivers were women.

Auxiliary Fire Service

Over 5,000 women were attached to fire stations in London alone. Mrs. Rostor is Commandant for South of the Thames and Mrs. Rosemary Marshall for the North. Women help firemen all over the country. They are trained in watch-room work, fire-fighting, and ant-gas. They do clerical work, drive cars, or tow pumps.

The Women's Land Army

From the outbreak of war up to the end of November, 1918, 3,500 women received Land Army training at Government expense, and 2,000 volunteers were placed in agricultural employment. The demand at that date was not very great, as a comparatively small number of men could be called up off the land. Lady Daymon is Honorary Director.

Women's Auxiliary Police

Borough and County Police Forces have in some cases recruited women to release men from clerical work, the telephone, and ear-driving.

Women's Voluntary Services

Half a million voluntary workers recruited by the Dowager Lady Reading were placed at the service of local authorities all over the country. They were invaluable in the evacuation and in A.R.P. work.

First Aid, Nursing and Ambulance Services

First Aid

A trained nurse is in charge of each first-aid post, with auxiliary nurses to help her. Those posts are set up in every town and village, as part of the A.R.P. scheme.

Queen Alexandra's Royal Naval Nursing Service

H.M. Queen Mary is President and Miss H. M. Martin, R.R.C., is Matron-in-Chief of the nurses of the Navy.

Queen Alexandra's Imperial Military Nursing Service

The Army nurses also have Queen Mary as head, and Miss E. M. Merideth, R.R.C., is Matron-in-Chief.

The Royal Air Force Nursing Service

The Princess Royal is head, and Miss E. M. Blais, R.R.C., is Matron-in-Chief.

The Territorial Army Nursing Service

Miss A. M. Phillips, R.R.C., is Matron-in-Chief.

Nurses' Department of the Red Cross and St. John War Organization

The department supplements the nurses of each service. Dame Joanna Cruickshank, D.B.E., R.R.C., is Matron-in-Chief.

Emergency Medical Service of the Ministry of Health

Miss E. C. Watt, C.B.E., R.R.C., is Principal Matron. By the end of September, the Central Emergency Committee of Nursing had enrolled 10,000 trained nurses and 20,000 auxiliary nurses who had completed training. The Committee accepted for training as auxiliaries 76,000 women.

River Ambulance Service

Three trained nurses and about ten auxiliaries take 24-hour shifts on Thames steamers fitted up as hospital ships. Two Sea Rangers act as messengers and signalers.

Other War Services

Auxiliary Territorial Service

Women between the ages of 18 and 43 years recruited to release men in the Army from cooking, orderly duties, clerical work, telephoning, store-keeping, and driving. The Queen is Commander-in-Chief, and Dame Helen Gwynn-Vaughan, G.B.E., Chief Controller.

Women's Auxiliary Air Force

Thousands of women work on R.A.F. stations all over the country as cooks, orderlies and clerks, telephone operators, transport drivers, and instrument mechanics. The Queen is Commander-in-Chief, and Miss E. J. Trefussi Forbes is Director.

Women's Royal Naval Service

Women relieve men of shore jobs at the ports and naval establishments. They do decoding as well as driving, clerical work, store-keeping, cooking and steward's work. The Queen is Commander-in-Chief and Mrs. Laughton Matthews is the Director.

Y.M.C.A.

The National Women's Auxiliary of the Y.M.C.A. runs canteens for the troops throughout the country, which are open day and night. Princess Helena Victoria, the President, takes an active interest in the work.

Y.W.C.A.

Canteen and recreation centres for Service women were provided and staffed.

Salvation Army

Salvation Army women offer help to run canteens for the troops at 40 camps. They work at canteens at railway stations.

Entertainment

Gracie Fields led the way in entertaining the troops. Her concert in France on November 15, 1939, was such a success that entertainment parties were hastened off to the front. "I sang to your fathers," Myra Hess organized lunch-time concerts in London.

WOMEN PILOTS GET THEIR CHANCE

It was announced at the beginning of 1940 that women pilots of the former Civil Air Guard were to form a section of the Air Transport Auxiliary Service. One of their jobs was to ferry new aircraft of the R.A.F., from factory to aerodrome. Some of these women pilots are here seen at an aerodrome near London.
WAR IN THE AIR—LAST TWO MONTHS OF 1939: REVIEW OF THE YEAR'S OPERATIONS

Chapter 39

Most interesting of the opening phases of the war in the air was the one with which it is proposed to deal in this chapter, a phase covering the period from October 21 to the latter part of December, 1939. During this period Germany intensified her aerial activity while still maintaining a rigid ban on the bombing of open towns and of land objectives where there might have been heavy casualties among civilians.

Two outstanding features of the German operations were the use of aircraft for mine-dropping and the use of aircraft to attack small merchant ships and fishing vessels in the North Sea. The mine-dropping came as a partial surprise and caused a good deal of comment; but the Royal Air Force and the Royal Navy rapidly devised methods for dealing with it. October 21 was notable for an attack by twelve German seaplanes on a British convoy. The attack was unsuccessful and the enemy machines were heavily engaged both by fighters and by anti-aircraft guns. On the following day, October 22, there was further activity off Scotland. Two enemy aircraft were also seen off the south-east coast. These machines were engaged by British fighters and one of them was brought down, the crew being seen to leave the wreckage of their machine in a collapsible boat.

On October 23 the Air Ministry announced that two successful attacks had been made by Royal Air Force aeroplanes on U-boats.

Coastal Command

During the whole of the period under review the Coastal Command of the Royal Air Force was engaged on continuous watch over the North Sea and parts of the Atlantic Ocean. This work, which supplements that of the Fleet Air Arm, is directed from operations rooms in much the same way as the work of the Fighter Command. Machines go out on patrols which are so correlated that enormous areas of sea are kept under almost continuous supervision and enemy activity is severely restricted. In all weathers these machines keep out on patrol, and from the outbreak of war until the early part of December they had flown some 3,000,000 miles. Once when a British submarine had been damaged, it was escorted safely home by aircraft of the Coastal Command. More than once shipwrecked seamen whose ships had been sunk or disabled were saved by these machines.

On October 21 four more German airmen were shot down by British aeroplanes. Two of them were rescued by a British warship after they had been adrift in their collapsible boat for three days. It was on this day that reports were circulated from Baele stating that a cluster of small balloons had been found in Rienzen and that attached to the balloons were packets of leaflets containing extracts from Herr Hitler's speeches translated into French. It was assumed that it was the intention that these balloon clusters should drift over to French territory.

Routine reconnaissance flights were being made by the Royal Air Force throughout the month, and on October 25 the places visited were Magdeburg, Hamburg and Berlin. All the British machines returned safely. An Oslo report which reached London on this day stated that one of the bombs dropped by Royal Air Force pilots during the raid on the Kiel district in the early days of the war fell down the funnel of the German battleship "Gneisenau," breaking the ship in two. This report must be discounted as obviously imaginative. There is every reason to believe that an important German warship was hit and severely damaged during the raid, but the funnel of a modern warship is not a hole into the centre of the vessel. Even supposing that a bomb did fall into a funnel, there is little likelihood that it would cause a ship of this size to break in two.

On Friday, October 27, in the United States of America, an important event occurred from the point of view of the strength of the Allies in the air: this was the voting of the United States Senate in favour of the repeal of the embargo on the sale of arms to belligerent nations. The voting was 67 to 22 and it cleared the way for the passage of the Neutrality Bill, which opened up America's armament factories to belligerents on the "cash-and-carry" basis. America's aircraft industry, though smaller than the British, was known to be a highly developed one and capable of rapid expansion. Both France and Britain were using American machines for training and also for first-line service. The French had some of their squadrons equipped with Curtiss single-seat fighters, and Britain was using the Lockheed twin-engined machines both for training and for Coastal Command patrol.

On October 28 a German reconnaissance machine was brought down in Scotland by Royal Air Force Spitfire fighters manned by members of the Auxiliary Air Force. The German crew...
**AIR RAIDS OF TWO WARS**

In the main map above are shown air raids and coastal bombardments on Britain from 1914 to 1918, indicated by symbols (explained in key). This map also shows by dates the raids of 1939.

The first aeroplane raid of 1914 took place over Kent on December 24 and 25, 1914, and the last one on June 17, 1918. Total casualties in 52 raids were 857 killed and 2,068 injured.

The first airship raid took place on January 19-20, 1915, and the last on April 12-13, 1918. There were 51 airship raids, in which 557 were killed and 1,358 injured. In bombardments from the sea, about 125 were killed and some 600 injured. Inset map shows the probable bases from which bombing raids on Scotland were carried out by the Germans in 1939, and the distances covered by the raiders.

The German machine was a Heinkel He 111K of recent pattern, with Junkers Ju 211A engines and the new short nose and smooth upper part to the fuselage. It carried a forward firing gun and two rearward firing guns.

The R.A.F. fighters dived on it again and again, riddling it with bullets and eventually killing one of the two rear gunners and wounding the other. This second gunner was the one in the tunnel position underneath the fuselage, and when the pilot was finally forced to land the gunner’s neck was broken by the impact, for the landing was a rough one made on unsuitable ground. The enemy pilot was wounded, but when approached by police he was able to say in good English: “We surrender as prisoners of war. Please see to my gunners in the back of the aircraft.”

An eye-witness described how the Royal Air Force fighters came to the attack again and again, while the German machine went lower and lower and seemed to be getting into greater and greater difficulties. The vastly superior speed of the British fighters was very noticeable. Even so it seemed that this Heinkel was a well-constructed and well-equipped machine.

On October 29 R.A.F. aeroplanes made a number of reconnaissance flights over Germany. These flights were now being made often in extremely bad weather. On one of them, on the previous Friday, the cold had been so intense that the crew were sick and then so numb that they were almost senseless. Ice formed on the wings, and the temperature went to 30 degrees below zero. On the engine cowlings ice six inches thick was noticed.

RAIDER THAT DID NOT RETURN

On October 28, 1939, a German reconnaissance plane was brought down in Scotland by R.A.F. machines after a running fight in the air. Above, the bullet-riddled enemy machine, a Heinkel He 111K, after its forced landing.
On October 31 the Air Ministry announced that British fighters had had their first opportunity to engage German bombers over French territory. Two machines came over flying very high: one of them, a Dornier, was shot down, but the other escaped. The machine shot down crashed about twenty miles from where the combat had started and went into the ground with both engines still running. The nose was buried nine feet in the earth and the petrol tanks exploded, so that fragments were scattered over a wide area.

Lord Nuffield was appointed Director-General of Maintenance at the Air Ministry on November 1. He was made responsible to the Air Council through the Air Member for Supply and Organization. His assistant was Mr. Oliver Boden. Maintenance was recognized as a side of supply which would come into increasing prominence as the intensity of air war increased, and the appointment of Lord Nuffield was generally approved.

On November 2 the King concluded a two days' visit to Royal Air Force stations in the North of England and the Midlands. During his tour he decorated five men and spoke to the pilots who had bombed Cuxhaven, as well as the first men to fly over Berlin and Potsdam. He also talked with a South African pilot who had sunk a U-boat.

On November 6 occurred the biggest aerial battle up to that date, and it resulted in a brilliant success for the Allies. It was fought between twenty-seven German Messerschmitt single-seater fighters and nine French Curtiss single-seater fighters manned by pilots of the "Armée de l'Air." Some reports stated that the Messerschmitts were in the act of chasing a single British machine which they had caught over Germany, and that the French fighters came down upon them and succeeded in surprising them. The fight raged from between ground level and 16,000 feet, and was fought by the French pilots with incomparable dash and brilliance.

A remarkable account of this combat was subsequently given in the French technical press by one of the French pilots who had himself brought down two German machines. He emphasized that the loads were terrific, with the speeds in the dive often going up to more than 400 miles an hour. He mentioned the tremendous physical effort needed to keep a watch on the enemy when turning sharply at high speed, and when subject to big centrifugal loads which seemed to drive the pilot down through his seat and make his head feel as if it would burst. The first success obtained by this pilot resulted in the German pilot leaping from his disabled machine with his parachute and landing somewhere near the Maginot Line. The second victory resulted in the Messerschmitt going down in flames and falling into a pine wood. The Messerschmitts concerned were the 109 single-engined type. The fight mostly circled round the hilly region of Saarouis, and the German machines were pursued as far as the German town of Merzig.

On November 8 a fine single-handed action was fought by a British fighter pilot in France against a German Dornier 17 aeroplane engaged on reconnaissance. The R.A.F. pilot was in the air when he noticed anti-aircraft shell bursts. He flew towards them and then observed a Dornier 17 flying extremely high. He climbed and the Dornier climbed too. Eventually the British fighter, a Hawker Hurricane with fixed-pitch wooden airscrew, managed to close with the German machine at the great height of 27,000 feet. As the Hurricane approached, fire was opened by the German rear gunner. At the first burst from the German machine her pilot (a New Zealander) gained the impression that he had hit the port engine. The German began to lose height and the British pilot broke off the combat, turning steeply and watching the enemy machine. Almost at once it sought to escape into a cloud layer, so the British pilot closed again and, in his own words, "gave the enemy all he had," in the way of gunfire, opening his eight guns at about 200 yards and firing.

**THE RABBIT 'TWAS THAT DIED**

The Shetland Isles received frequent visits from enemy aircraft, and the crater seen above was caused by a bomb dropped from one of these raiders on November 13, 1939, when the first bombs actually fell on British soil. The only casualty, a rabbit, is being proudly exhibited by the man standing in the crater.

Photo, Associated Press
continuously while closing to an estimated distance of 50 yards and only just avoiding collision with the enemy machine. The latter now went into a very steep dive with engines on. The British pilot thought that this might be an attempt to escape, and followed. The German dived more steeply until it was plunging vertically earthwards, with the Hurricane plunging after it. The speed reached must have been extremely high, for afterwards the Hurricane was found to have stripped some of the fabric off the top surfaces of its wings, a sign of exceptionally great aerodynamic forces.

The German machine never pulled out of its dive, but continued until it went into the middle of the main road running through a small French village. The wreckage testified to the force of the impact. Although the road was a tarmacked one of good quality, the engine had gone so deeply into it that no part of it could be distinguished. The largest piece of the machine that was left was no bigger than a dining-room chair, and that was from the extreme tail. The bodies of the crew were torn to small pieces, some of which were thrown a long distance and found in the trees of an orchard.

On November 10 there was another R.A.F. victory when two machines of the Coastal Command forced a German flying boat down on to the water off the East Coast. The German crew took to their collapsible boat. On the day following this event there were more British reconnaissance flights over Germany, including the towns of Stuttgart, Mannheim, and Nuremberg; on the other hand, there was an air-raid warning sounded in Paris. On November 13 two air raids were made by the Germans on the Shetland Islands. In all twenty bombs were dropped and four aeroplanes took part. No ships were hit and no damage was done except to a rabbit and to the windows of an uninhabited house. The bombs were thought mostly to have been about 50 kilogrammes (110 lb.) in weight. On the day following this raid German machines were again reported over the same district. The German claim for the Shetlands raid was that two sea-planes had been destroyed and that a cruiser had been hit. These statements were subsequently denied in Britain.

On November 17 air-raid warnings were sounded in a large number of districts in the Midlands—in South Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales. The Observer Corps had detected a reconnaissance aeroplane, thought to be a Heinkel, and alarm sirens were sounded in thirteen towns. It was subsequently suggested that no enemy machine had been in these districts, but
BRITISH PILOT DOWNS A NAZI BOMBER

The last week of November, 1939, was a period of many victories of the Allied air forces. In this page a British victory, watched by French troops, is illustrated, when a British pursuit plane brought down a big German bomber. Above, the British aircraft photographed during the battle. Right, the British pilot circling above his victim, which has crashed. Below, the stricken bomber, its airmen twisted and its fuselage riddled with bullets, lying in a field near Harehrook.

Some weeks afterwards German illustrated newspapers contained photographs alleged to have been taken by a German reconnaissance machine, and the photographs included pictures of places in the districts where alarms had been sounded. There were more air-raid warnings on November 19, sounded in the Firth of Forth district and on the Essex coast. Reports from Copenhagen stated that there had been a battle between British cruisers and at least ten big German bombing aeroplanes. It was said that a hundred bombs had been dropped. The cruisers had replied with accurate fire and at least one enemy machine was hit. Later it was learnt that actually two had been crippled.

On November 20 enemy raiding aeroplanes came over towards the Essex coast and over the Sussex coast at a great height. Warnings were sounded in East Kent. This was the first time that enemy aeroplanes had come over British territory during the hours of black-out. German machines were also reported over the Orkneys. On the following day there were further reconnaissance flights, and then Heinkel 115 seaplanes were seen over the Thames Estuary. This latter raid, although the point was not immediately appreciated, was the opening stage of a new kind of air warfare: the dropping of mines from the air. The enemy machines laid mines at five different points off the East Coast.

Minelaying seaplanes were known to have been developed by Germany during peacetime, but it was not thought that they had reached a very advanced stage. The form of minelaying adopted in the war was such that seaplanes were not essential, and either seaplanes or landplanes could equally well be used. One machine could carry two mines, and those could be dropped without the aircraft having to take such great risks of being intercepted and shot down as if it were on a bombing raid. It was thought that small parachutes were attached to the German mines so as to mitigate the force of the impact with the water. There seemed no technical reason why parachutes should be needed, for a coining device could be arranged to prevent any risk of the mine exploding on impact with the water. It was also thought—and this received partial confirmation later—that some of the mines dropped from the air were of the magnetic variety.

On the day following the discovery that the Germans were using aircraft as minelayers (November 23) enemy machines again flew over the Shetland Islands. They came very low and dropped many bombs in the water and
also used their machine-guns against British seaplanes lying at moorings. One seaplane was set on fire and sunk, but the crew managed to swim areshore. Six German machines took part in this raid. Two days later seven reconnaissance machines came over the Shetlands.

In France, at about the time that mine-laying activities were being begun round the coasts of Britain, German machines attempted many reconnaissance flights. French fighters shot down a Dornier 17, and another Dornier which may have been the later 215 type. The French also accounted for three Messerschmitt 109 fighters, and British pilots shot down two Heinkel 111K machines. On November 23 seven German reconnaissance machines were shot down by British fighters—four Dornier 17's, two Heinkel 111K's, and one unidentified machine. This was a week of many victories for the Allied air forces, for in one forty-eight-hour period they shot down nineteen enemy aeroplanes. German claims were that four French Morane 406 fighters had been shot down by Messerschmitt 109's and that one Morane had been destroyed by a twin-engined Messerschmitt 110 fighter.

On November 25 two attacks were made by German aeroplanes on British ships in the North Sea. Many bombs were dropped, but no hits were obtained. The Germans claimed four direct hits.

The last few days of November and the first few of December saw the Royal Air Force taking the offensive against the enemy, but still under limitations imposed by the war policy of the Allied Supreme War Council. These limitations, which became clear as the war in the air progressed, prohibited the bombing of land objectives. It had presumably been decided that unless the Germans took to bombing land objectives the Allies would not do so, the consequence being that all bombing attacks by both sides were directed against shipping. On November 28, however, the R.A.F. did attack a land base, but not with bombs. It raided the German seaplane base at Borkum, whence it was thought some of the mine-laying aeroplanes had come. The operation was brilliantly carried out, and the R.A.F. suffered no casualties.

A patrol of long-range fighters which had been sent out to search for mine-laying seaplanes reconnoitred the base at Borkum and there found and attacked three enemy seaplanes. Our aeroplanes were met by heavy anti-aircraft fire from the ground, and they attacked with their machine-guns and succeeded in silencing some of the anti-aircraft gun positions.

Borkum is one of the Frisian Islands near the mouth of the River Ems. After this event it became the scene of a good deal of aerial activity. Another point about this R.A.F. attack is that it was the first time that the use of long-range fighters had been mentioned in any official communiqué.
"SPRINGBOK" SENTINELS OVER THE SEA

Air liners, converted for military use, fought the nuisance of the armed commerce raider along the South African coast. Above, bomber reconnaissance machines setting off along the seaboard. Below, right, the German liner "Wamasi," set on fire by her captain when intercepted by aircraft of the South African Sea Defence Force. Crew and passengers were rescued by a British warship.

Photos, From: Wide World

The machines in question are twin-engined aeroplanes derived from the Bristol Blenheim bombers but carrying heavier gun armament in place of bombs. They were in use in the squadrons before the outbreak of war. Twelve took part in the raid on Borkum; they flew very low and very fast, skimming the ground and taking the defences entirely by surprise.

On November 29, early in the morning, there were two attempts by German aeroplanes to penetrate the British coastal defences. One was made by a Heinkel, which was shot down in single combat by a British pilot five miles off the Northumbrian coast. It was approaching the coast when it was intercepted. It first appeared flying from behind a bank of cloud. Turning to intercept the raider, the fighter pilot, in his own words, "ducked back into the clouds" for about thirty seconds. When he came out of the clouds the enemy was immediately above him. As he climbed, the raider waited until the fighter was only 400 yards away, and then dived for the cloud 1,500 feet below with one of his rear guns firing. The fighter followed, and after he had closed to 150 yards, the German machine turned on its side and dived vertically into the clouds, emitting a column of smoke. Boats searched the area, but could find no trace of the German machine or its crew.

After this, on December 3, there came one of the most successful actions fought by the Royal Air Force up to that time. It was a heavy attack on German warships near Heligoland, made by a formation of Vickers Wellington bombers. They flew over high and approached their targets just after 11.30 in the morning, sighting them through a cloud layer. The Germans appear to have been taken by surprise, but they sent up a heavy anti-aircraft barrage, and fighters immediately took off from neighbouring bases to try to intercept the British machines. The Wellington pilots performed their bombing with great accuracy, direct hits being obtained; one pilot stated that his bombs "straddled" one warship. Some twenty Messerschmitt fighters took off to try to bring down the British machines, but only one of them made contact, and that was shot down by one of the British gunners. This gunner was hit by a bullet, but the bullet happened to strike the quick-release plate of his parachute harness, and this prevented him from being injured. All the British machines returned safely, although one was hit in the tail. The German account, which was issued some time before the British one, stated that the only loss had been one small fishing boat, and that the German machine which had fallen into the sea had done so because the pilot had been injured in the eye by a splinter.
December 3 was also noteworthy for the fact that an aeroplane of the Coastal Command succeeded in sinking a U-boat. He sighted the submarine about eight miles away and, using the clouds for cover, managed to get within range. He then scored a direct hit with a bomb on the coming tower. Parts of the submarine and wreckage were thrown high into the air, and the water was coated with oil for a large area.

On December 6 there were two encounters between Dornier flying-boats and R.A.F. Coastal Command patrols. One occurred north of Heligoland and planes intercepted the German liner "Watuksi," which had slipped out of Mozambique harbour. It was ordered to sail to Simonstown. When first challenged the liner ignored the signals, so bombs were dropped in the sea ahead of her as a warning. The "Watuksi" then changed course, but later on she was scuttled.

Two more attacks were made on German submarines on December 8, by machines of the Coastal Command. One attack was certainly successful, and the pilot saw his first bomb hit the boat amidships a yard to starboard of the coming tower. The U-boat began to sink, and a second bomb fell directly above her. The pilot circled overhead for about twenty minutes until the submarine sank. The second submarine was attacked while in the act of submerging. Afterwards large patches of oil were seen on the water.

On December 12 Sir Kingsley Wood, making a statement in the House of Commons about the progress of the air war, said that the British Hurricane and Spitfire fighters had been shown to possess a decisive margin over the German Dorniers, Junkers and Heinkels. It was on this day that further proof of the effectiveness of the balloon barrage was provided in a tragic manner. An aircraft of the Fleet Air Arm crashed into a cable and the crew were killed.

On December 13 two Dornier flying-boats were attacked over the North Sea by an aeroplane belonging to the Coastal Command. There was evidence that both the rear gunners had been hit. The first announcement was made by the Air Ministry about the R.A.F. "Security Patrols" in the region of the German seaplane bases at Sylt, Borkum and Norderney. These Security Patrols were designed to control German mine-laying seaplanes, and were entirely new and unorthodox use of large bombing aeroplanes. The British machines patrolled the area, and, when the lights

the result was indeterminate. In the other the British machine made six attacks, but, although oil was observed pouring from the German machine, it was not seen to crash. On that day one of the British patrolling aircraft failed to return, and as a German communiqué had stated that a collision had occurred between a British and a German machine during an engagement near the Dutch island of Texel, it was thought that this might have referred to the missing British machine.

On December 7 eight enemy aeroplanes approached the Firth of Forth. Fighters went up to intercept them and made contact. One enemy aircraft was seen to be hit and another one was believed to have been damaged. In an engagement off another part of the coast on the same day another German machine was intercepted, and that too was believed to have been hit. It was during this week that the South African Air Force came into action for the first time. Three of its reconnaissance aere-
of flare paths were seen on the water, dropped bombs on them and so prevented the German seaplanes from taking off. The order not to drop any bomb on land targets remained in force, however, so that the British machines were not allowed to attack the seaplanes while these were on the slipways.

During the following seven days, until December 30, there were several aerial engagements, culminating with one over Heligoland on December 18, which was believed to have been up to then the biggest aerial battle of the war. (It was not so big in the matter of the number of machines engaged as some of the aerial battles which had taken place towards the latter part of the war of 1914-18. There had been the earlier fight near Heligoland on December 31, which is described in page 431.) During this period, too, the Germans started a series of unrestricted attacks from the air upon British fishing vessels. Fishing craft and unarmed merchant ships were bombed and machine-gunned; a number were sunk.

Details of the big aerial battle over Heligoland mentioned above were made public some time after the fight; they revealed that five of the new twin-engined Messerschmitt 110 fighters were shot down by the British bombers, one R.A.F. machine accounting for five of them, and that seven of our machines failed to return. The fantastic claim was made by the Germans that thirty-four British machines had been shot down. Actually the total number that went out was far smaller than this.

A general review of the war in the air during 1939 must take note of two essentials; the first is that both sides deliberately refrained from bombing land targets, and the second is that both sides exerted their main effort at sea. It is not to be supposed that anything more than a very small part of the total forces available to Great Britain and to Germany were engaged in the series of sea operations that took place; but these were nevertheless the chief operations. The Nazis adopted the novel method of sowing mines from aircraft; the Royal Air Force countered it by the institution of "Security Patrols" which remained near the German seaplane bases all night and made the problem of taking off difficult. The Nazis attacked British ships, sometimes warships, but also unarmed merchant and fishing vessels, with bombs and machine-gun fire. The Royal Air Force confined its counter-attacks to warships, and it attacked them only when they were out in the open sea, where no in-accurately aimed bomb could possibly fall on land.

In France the main preoccupation of the Air Forces of both sides was reconnaissance. High-flying reconnaissance machines were sent out by the Royal Air Force and the French Armée de l'Air, and by the Germans. A fairly high proportion of the German machines was brought down. The British and French reconnaissance flights entailed some losses, but in relation to the German casualties these losses were so small as to be of no account. Photographs were taken by both sides of important objectives, and propaganda leaflets were dropped by both sides.

The Germans published their photographs first and they were made much of, but those with inside information affirmed that some at least were fakes, taken some time before the war; in some cases buildings of comparatively recent construction were not to be seen on the German pictures. The photographs taken by the Royal Air Force of objectives in Germany were superior; the Air Ministry allowed none of these to be published before the end of the year, but later a few were issued.

As the year drew to a close the vigour of the Allied Air forces was intensified, for it was supposed by many that the Germans might make an aerial sortie at about Christmas time, trusting to the belief that there must be at such a time a general relaxation of watchfulness. But there was no special action by the Germans, and the British and French patrols were unmolested.

What is a fair summary of the position in the air war up to the end of 1939? It is that the Allies had played throughout a more active part, although no bombing competition had been begun. The Germans were obviously husbanding their resources, and were not sending over more reconnaissance machines than could obtain just enough information for their purposes. The enemy bombing attacks on ships and flying boats in the Firth of Forth and the Shetlands were also made with small forces, and nothing approaching a big-scale raid was attempted. Even the large British formations which visited the Heligoland area did not tempt the Germans to send similarly large formations to Britain. Altogether the preliminary stages of the air war, though they gave evidence that both sides were waiting, showed a more forward spirit on the part of the Allies. Moreover, in the technical quality of their aeroplanes the Allies proved incontestably superior to the Germans in every branch.
SCANDINAVIAN STATES CAN TAKE NO CHANCES

Warmed by the near approach of war, the Scandinavian states strengthened their defences. Above, anti-aircraft machine-guns placed on housepots in Norway; left, a camouflaged heavy gun of the Swedish coastal defences; below, right, an anti-aircraft post on the Danish frontier ready for any emergency; below, left, Lt.-Gen. O. G. Thernell, Commander-in-Chief of Sweden’s National Defences.

Chapter 40

THE NORTHERN NEUTRALS: PLIGHT OF FINLAND AND THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

Russia's Onslaught Against Finland Affected Vital Interests of Norway and Sweden—Denmark was Powerless—Intimidation by the Nazis—Norway and Sweden's Generous Help to Finland—A Force of Swedish Volunteers to Fight the Russians—Appeal to the League—Scandinavia Looks to her Defences—
The Position of Latvia and Estonia

The earlier history of the Second Great War, as it affected Finland and the Scandinavian countries, was told in Chapter 27, where it was related how Russia had exerted increasing pressure on Finland to concede certain facilities that the latter country felt bound to refuse. As a result, after protracted negotiations, the U.S.S.R. attacked Finland by land, sea and air on November 30, 1939. On the following day Russia set up a puppet Finnish government at Terijoki in the Karelian Isthmus, under the Finnish Communist, Otto Kusininen, a member of the Comintern. (For an account of the early stages of the Russo-Finnish war see Chapter 41.)

Russia's demands on and subsequent invasion of Finland confronted the Scandinavian States—Sweden, Norway, and Denmark—with new and dangerous possibilities. These possibilities were both economic and strategic. Collaboration between the Scandinavian States has been described as a "diamond with a thousand facets." In many cases their industries were interdependent. Swedish and Danish paper mills used Finnish timber. Finland's ores were complementary to those found in Sweden. Swedish engineering products were much used in Finnish sawmills and mines.

There is also a natural sympathy between the Scandinavian peoples, arising out of common cultural inheritance, common commercial laws, and, in the years since 1918, a common front on certain vital aspects of trade and foreign affairs.

Sweden, the most powerful, naturally felt herself most intimately concerned. Finland had for centuries a battleground between Sweden and Russia for domination of the Baltic. Swedish rule in Finland had initiated the progress which made Finland eventually one of the most advanced Democratic States of Europe; and, while Sweden had absorbed expansionist dreams since the peace of Nystad in 1721 (which bereft her of her Baltic possessions south of the Gulf of Finland), self-interest dictated a suspicious attitude towards the aggressive policy of her great near-neighbour.

Russian domination of Finland would, in fact, put Swedish security back to where it was in 1914—with the added menace that, whereas then Finland and Sweden's Baltic neighbours had been ruled by a friendly Tsar, the new Soviet Russia was governed by Stalin, who had ambitious plans like those of Peter the Great. In 1914 German and Russian ambitions were checked by mutual animosity, but in 1939 these two Powers had apparently joined hands.

Switzerland was concerned chiefly for the safety of her long Arctic coastline, in the event of Russian domination of Finland. Liihamarri, Finland's ice-free port at the mouth of the Petsamo River, was only fifteen miles from the
Norwegian frontier. When the Russians demanded a lease of the Rybachy Peninsula, had they still more ambitious plans than control of the Petsamo Gulf? Norwegians pointed to the fact that within a few years Russia had developed Murmansk from an unimportant harbour to a town with 150,000 inhabitants. The Stalin Canal had created a direct shipping route from Leningrad, and in Polyarnoye (formerly Alexandrovsk), immediately on the Finnish frontier, Russia had made a military harbour the object of which was suspicious.

Norway was also extremely sensitive as regards Spitsbergen, which she acquired in 1920. Two-thirds of Spitsbergen's population were Russians, and from Spitsbergen the island Norway was drawing from 10 to 30 per cent of her coal supplies. Whispers in Oslo, the Norwegian capital, that Russian maps were in existence showing parts of Northern Norway as Russian territory did nothing to allay these fears. If Russia was looking for a considerable addition to her Arctic coastline, there was only one Scandinavian country which could come into question, namely Norway.

As regards little Denmark, deprived of the economic and strategic support of her Scandinavian sisters, she would come still further under the thumb of Nazi Germany, and her existence as a Sovereign State would terminate the moment she ceased to be of use to Germany as a source of food supply.

When the Scandinavian States looked to the south the prospect was equally

forbidding. Since the beginning of the Second Great War Scandinavian shipping had suffered heavily through Germany's unrestricted mine and U-boat warfare. Germany, like the Allies, was intent on securing as many essential supplies as possible from Scandinavia. But whereas the Allies pursued their policy by negotiation, backed by cash, the Germans used negotiation, backed by threats. Already in the second month of the war Germany had officially warned Sweden that neutral ships in enemy convoys would be torpedoed without warning. Trade talks between Sweden and Germany were interrupted in the middle of November, and Germany at the same time, in spite of Swedish objections, announced her intention of putting down a mine barrage at the southern entrance to the Oresund, within what Sweden regarded as her territorial waters. Germany's admitted object was to exercise sharper control on Swedish shipping and to force large or heavily laden Swedish vessels, wishing to leave the Baltic, to use the services of a German pilot, so abandoning their territorial immunity.

Simultaneously with Russia's invasion of Finland, the German Press had begun a systematic campaign of intimidation against the Scandinavian countries. The Swedish Foreign Minister, Hr. Sandler, was attacked for "having encouraged Finland to reject the Russian proposals." The "Berliner Bogenzeitung" condemned Sweden's whole foreign policy, and laid the entire responsibility for the invasion of Finland on him. The Nazi argument was:

"Germany has always felt kindly towards the Northern Countries, but her sympathy has not been required. The Northern Countries attached themselves to the League of Nations which Britain and France had devoted to keep her down, they applied Sanctions against Italy, supported Republican Spain and criticized every one of Germany's efforts to free herself from the shackles of Versailles."

It is not surprising that the Scandinavian States should have felt themselves menaced by Germany as well as by Russia, and in many Scandinavian circles the fear was expressed that Germany and Russia had a secret arrangement for the domination and partition of Norway and Sweden. But even apart from such considerations, Germany's interests in Scandinavia were sufficiently obvious. She could not afford to let control of the entrance to the Baltic pass out of her hands, and some Swedes felt certain that she would seize Sweden's southern coast if she felt Swedish neutrality endangered.

**RUSSIA EXPELLED FROM THE LEAGUE**

On December 2, 1939, three days after the Soviet invasion of her territory, Finland invoked the League Covenant. Below, M. Munch (left), Dr. Koht (centre) and Hr. Sandler (right), foreign ministers of Denmark, Norway and Sweden respectively, are discussing the Finnish appeal to the League, while on the right, M. Sourits, Soviet delegate, is seen leaving the Palace of the League of Nations shortly before his country was expelled from membership on December 14.

*Photo, Wide World: B.N.A.*
either by Russia or by the Allies: material aid from the latter countries had been promised to Finland since the League of Nations' condemnation of Russian aggression on December 11. Norway could, it was said, help with Swedish ore and agricultural produce.

The unanimous desire of the Swedish people to render help, even to the extent of military aid, to their gallantly fighting small neighbour, but fear of Russia's new friend, Nazi Germany, was ever present and acted as a brake on Swedish desires. The statesmen of Scandinavia, conscious of their responsibilities, used their good offices to exercise a moderating influence in Moscow so long as hostilities between Russia and Finland had not begun. When, however, Finland was invaded, on November 30, they endeavoured to steer a middle course between the popular demand for active support of Finland and a policy of strict neutrality. This course consisted of the dispatch of such materials and arms as could be supplied without abandoning their neutral status. But, prepared for the worst if hostilities should be forced upon them, Sweden and Norway began to look to their defences. Denmark would doubtless have wished to do the same, but since she was unfortunately situated next to a powerful and aggressive neighbour, her preparations, if any, were not revealed.

The reactions to Russia's invasion of Finland were immediate in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. On the morning of the invasion students at the University left the lecture rooms and assembled out of doors, afterward marching to the Finnish Legation, where, the band of Finnish and Norwegian national hymns and cheered the Finnish Minister. Collections were started throughout Norway for the aid of Finland. Finnish refugees, streaming with their scanty belongings in reindeer sledge from the Petsamo area into Norway, were received hospitably, although the simultaneous flight of a number of Finnish Communists caused the Norwegian authorities some embarrassment. Some of the refugees were housed in school buildings; many had relatives in Norway, especially in the neighbourhood of the frontier. More than one million kroner were collected for needy Finns; preparations were made to send a field hospital complete with 100 beds to Finland; and so many Norwegians volunteered to serve with the Finnish armed forces that the Norwegian military authorities were compelled to ban the departure of officers and N.C.O.s on the ground that their services might be needed for the defence of Norway's own security.

In the first few days of the war in Finland more than 2,000 Swedes volunteered for service with the Finnish forces, among them Carl Gustaf von Rosen, the nephew of Field-Marshal Boepple's Swedish-born first wife. The grey uniforms (similar to those of the Finnish Army) in which the volunteers were dressed were made in large numbers by Swedish society women, who formed themselves into groups for this purpose. The Swedish volunteers were commanded by General Ernest Linder, a close friend of Baron von Mannerheim, the Finnish Commander-in-Chief. The General had fought with von Mannerheim in Finland's first war of independence against the Bolsheviks, assisting notably in the capture of Tampere, "Manchester of the North," in one of the two decisive battles of that war.

In order not to compromise Swedish neutrality unduly (for such assistance as the Scandinavian countries gave more or less openly to Finland was possible only because Russia had not declared war on Finland and a "state of war" did not legally exist), the Swedish volunteers received their arms and other equipment only after arrival on Finnish territory. Bureaux were opened in many Swedish cities to accept gifts for Finland. Collections of clothes were organized by the Red Cross, by newspapers, the Salvation Army, and school children; and the Swedish Government granted free transport on the State railways for all such gifts. Sweden indeed responded nobly to the call of her sister State for help, and received in money, provisions and equipment (in addition to armaments and munitions supplied under normal commercial contracts) provided one of the most remarkable instances of practical sympathy. Four private persons in Sweden gave £30,000 to M. Erikko, former Finnish Foreign Minister, to be used for Finland. The Red Cross raised £15,000 for a Finland ambulance unit within a few days of the beginning of aggression, and
the Swedish Trade Union Council made a first contribution of £30,000 to a national fund for Finland.

The Finnish war occasioned changes in both the Norwegian and Swedish Cabinets. Norway had been the only Scandinavian country which did not form a National Government on the outbreak of the Second World War. With hostilities near her frontier with Finland, however, the situation was changed. In view of violations of her neutrality both by U-boats and aircraft, and reports of Allied desires to use Norwegian harbours for the shipment of matériel aid to Finland, it seemed that the demands of the opposition parties to be included in a National Government could no longer be denied. Norway's Socialist Government met popular sentiment to some extent by appointing a professional soldier, Colonel Birger Ljungberg, to succeed Hr. Møsen, the Norwegian Minister for Defence.

Sweden remodelled her Cabinet (a Social-Democratic and Agrarian coalition) into a National coalition under the present Premier, Hr. Hansen. Also the Government made one last effort to mediate between Finland and Russia. Acting on the request of the Finnish Government, the Swedish Minister, two days after hostilities had begun, expressed Finland's desire to enter into fresh negotiations with the Soviet Government for a peaceful settlement. But it was now too late. Moscow's reply, given on the wireless on December 5, was abrupt. It stated that M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Commissar, did not recognize this "so-called" Government and that there could be no question of negotiations with it.

The Foreign Ministers of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden met in Oslo on December 7, 1939, to discuss Finland's appeal to the League of Nations and the situation arising out of Russian aggression against Finland. Five days later, much to the regret of a large part of Sweden's population, came the resignation of Hr. Sandler, Sweden's popular Foreign Minister, who advocated joint defence of Finno-Swedish neutrality. Hr. Sandler had been the object of bitter Nazi Press attacks.

He was succeeded by Hr. Christian Günthers, an experienced politician with no pronounced views. This appointment was a concession to Nazi opinion and a further stage in Sweden's cautious policy of active material help for Finland, without committing herself to military support.

In the meantime, Sweden rapidly strengthened her defences. A Law of National Service in case of war or the danger of war was passed. It empowered the authorities to compel citizens between the ages of 16 and 70 (including women) to remain in their employment or take on other employment as the needs of the country's defence or economy should warrant. A Bill restricting civil liberties in the event of emergency was also passed. Large contingents of conscripts for service mainly in the province of Norrland (in the north), on the island of Gotland, and on the coastal fortifications were called up, and the discharge of called-up conscripts was partly cancelled.

Two important military appointments were announced. Lt.-General Thoernell, Chief of the Defence Staff, a soldier of international reputation, was made Commander-in-Chief of the Swedish defences. This unprecedented step in Swedish history was symptomatic of the earnest view the Swedish Government took of the possibilities arising out of the Russian aggression against Finland. King Gustav also appointed General Nygren as general officer commanding for Sweden's vital northern frontier districts. In an Order of the Day General Nygren reminded his men of the critical situation and the problems before them, and expressed his confidence in their loyalty and efficiency.

At the same time the military forces on the northern frontier, which in normal times consist of two infantry regiments, one cavalry and heavy artillery regiment and a field artillery and engineer corps, were considerably increased. A new minefield was laid at Oergrund, south of Stockholm.

Norway's military preparations, which had already been speeded up on the outbreak of hostilities between the Allies and Germany, received further impetus with the ordering of 12 Heinkel flying boats from Germany and 24 Curtiss Hawk fighters from the United States. Assurances were sought and obtained from Britain that eight motor torpedo boats already on order would be delivered promptly, and also six Gloster Gladiator machines for the air force. It was announced that the productive capacity of Norway's national aircraft factory had been trebled, while stocks of coal for the railways, sugar, coffee, oil and textiles were accumulated for many months ahead.

One of the reasons for the speed with which the Russians had pressed their demands on the eastern Baltic States and equipped the naval and air bases ceded to them now became apparent. The bases at Baltiski Port near Tallinn and on the Estonian islands of Dago and Oesel were, it was reliably reported, used by Soviet aircraft as a convenient jumping-off place for the bombing of Finnish objectives, being much nearer to Helsinki, Hanko (Hango) and Turku (Abö) than aerodromes in Russia proper.

Finland's struggle aroused great sympathy among the populations of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. They recalled that Finnish volunteers had helped them to obtain their own independence in the struggle against the Bolsheviks in the early years following the First Great War. But with key points in their territory occupied by Russian naval and air forces, as a result of the agreements concluded with Soviet Russia, the three countries were powerless to assist Finland.

That no love was lost between the garrisoned Russian forces and the Latvian population was evidenced by reports that the Russians were having the greatest difficulty in getting Latvian women to work on the defenses of Ventspils (Ventspils)—one of the bases Russia had taken over—in spite of high wage offers. Latvia, it was also reported, was reorganizing and strengthening her army, determined to show, if necessary, that, although she had yielded to Russian demands in granting trade and military facilities, she still regarded herself as an independent state.

Much speculation was aroused by a summons to General Laidoner, the commander of the Estonian Army, to go to Moscow. Rumour spoke of Russian desires to enlist Estonian help against Finland, but another story was that Russia feared a rising in Estonia.

News from both Latvia and Estonia was very restricted, in view of their delicate strategic position, but it was not unreasonable to assume that Finland's successful resistance to Russia in the early stages of the war had aroused regret among Estonians and Latvians that they themselves had not complied so readily with Russia's drastic demands.

Pro-Russian circles in these countries, on the other hand, derived comfort from the fact that apparently Russia was observing her undertaking not to interfere in their internal economy. Private business, subject to war restrictions, was carried on as usual, and no attempt was made to Bolshevize the internal economy.

At the same time, however, Russia pushed forward feverishly the construction of heavy gun emplacements, breakwaters and underground hangars on the bases leased to her, with what object only the future would show.
PROTECTORS OF BRITAIN'S SHIPPING WATCH THE AIR

Flying boats of the Coastal Command R.A.F. kept ceaseless watch over Britain's shipping after war began. Above, one pilot is seen at the controls of a Short "Sunderland," while the other signals with an Aldis lamp. Below, we see gunners at their midships posts, on the alert for any sign of the enemy. Their machine-guns are manually trained Vickers K's.

Photo: P.N.A.
Communiques from the Western Front, it is now known, indicated the great success of Anglo-French air co-operation, and when this was supplemented by eye-witness accounts it became evident that from the first the Allies had obtained the mastery of the air. In this photograph (which is of an aircraft brought down by the French Air Force personnel), the crew of the German aircraft are shown. The inscription on the aircraft reads, "Here Lies Hitler!"
FINNS' BIG HAUL OF SOVIET SUPPLIES

In the course of the many Finnish victories over the Soviet troops in December, 1939, a vast amount of material was captured. The Russian lorries seen above formed part of a convoy captured by Finns on the north bank of the River Kemijoki, in the Salla region. The lorries were loaded with war supplies and were defended by tanks and cavalry.

Photo: Press News
Chapter 41

FINLAND STEMMED THE RUSSIAN INVASION: WAR ON EIGHT FRONTS


(A later review of the campaign, by Major-General Sir Charles Gwynn, is given in Chapter 143)

While the menace of the magnetic mine and British reprisals to this new form of Totalitarian warfare filled the headlines of the Press in the latter part of November, a development occurred in Northern Europe which brought in its train the possibility of a drastic extension of the field of hostilities between the Allies and Germany. This was the invasion of Finland by Soviet Russia, failing the satisfaction of certain territorial demands. Finland's small population of 5,500,000 souls (who had obtained their independence after more than a century of Russian domination at the end of 1917) showed their mettle and morale by meeting the demands of an overwhelmingly powerful enemy. The hopes of small nations all over the world became centred in the valiant struggle of the gallant little 'Belgium' of the Second Great War. Finland, an advanced Democratic State, enjoyed a universally good reputation, especially in the United States, where she was the only belligerent of the First Great War to honour her debt obligations. Her people were generous, honest and courageous. Her refusal to cede territory identified her with the principle for which the Allies went to war—the right of small nations to an independent existence. Her strategic situation was such that none of the powerful belligerents could be indifferent to her fate.

The Soviet's demands on Finland are outlined in Chapter 27. Russia was concerned for the safety of Leningrad and for her own security as far as that was affected by future relations with Finland. To ensure the safety of Leningrad she proposed that:

1. The Finnish frontier on the Isthmus of Karelia be moved farther back.
2. The port of Hangö (Hanko) at the entrance of the Gulf of Finland be leased to Russia as an army and air base with permission for Soviet naval forces to use the neighbouring bay of Lappolmi.
3. Cession of certain Finnish islands in the Gulf of Finland.
4. Suppression of fortified zones on both sides of the frontier between Finland and the Soviet Union.

As to future relations with Finland, Russia suggested that Finland should undertake not to join any groups or alliances directly or indirectly hostile to either of the Contracting Parties. Russia also maintained that the frontier between Finland and Russia, in the extreme north was unskilfully drawn, and demanded the lease of the Ruhja Peninsula with Finland's only ice-free port, Petsamo. The two maps printed in this page show the Russian demands with an analogy of what similar demands would have meant to Britain.

Finland's reply was conciliatory but firm. She emphasized her desire to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union, but, while willing to consider means for meeting the requirements of the Soviet Union, added that it was conditional upon the requirements of Finland's own security being taken into consideration and upon care being observed to maintain Finland's complete neutrality. She agreed to the occasion against territorial compensation of the islands demanded, except as regards the island of Småsaaari, for which Finland was willing to discuss an arrangement. Finland agreed to rectification of the frontier on the Isthmus of Karelia, notably with the object of removing the so-called Ruskczas bend, but was not willing to sacrifice her fortifications and population in the territory in question to the extent demanded by Russia.

Hangö, for reasons of Finland's integrity, could not be leased to Russia; while, as regards Russia's proposal for ensuring future good relations between the two countries, Finland maintained that her existing Non-Aggression Pact with Russia covered every foreseeable contingency. In return for the sacrifices required by the Soviet Government,
Finland was offered 2,134 square miles of territory in Soviet Karvia. The talks between Finland and Russia on these points began on October 5, 1939. They ended after eight discussions with the return of the Finnish delegates from Moscow on November 13, when a deadlock had been reached. Finland was adamant in her determination not to yield; Russia was insistent on her original demands.

Briefly the Soviet's argument was as follows, as outlined in the Russian Press: The island of Hangö (to be leased) would enable her to mount batteries of long-range guns with which to command the entrance to the Gulf of Finland—in conjunction with batteries on Dagö and others on the Estonian coast. Similarly, a naval base at Hangö would enable Soviet warships to cooperate with others based on the leased Estonian port of Baltiski and thus to safeguard the approach to Leningrad. In short, Russia wished to secure the "keys to the Gulf." Further, Leningrad could not be regarded as secure unless the Soviet also obtained the use of the

TWO LEADERS OF A BRAVE PEOPLE

When the Soviet army invaded his country, Marshal Mannerheim (above), the leader of the "Whites" against the "Reds" in the Civil War of 1918, once more took up the fight against the Russians as supreme leader of the Finnish forces. Left, President Kiihl: Kallio is seen inspecting the defences of the Mannerheim Line.

Photos, Central Press; Press Topics

four small islands in the middle of the Gulf. From the Russian point of view, also, the position of Leningrad on the landward side was extraordinary, with the Finnish frontier only some twenty miles from the former Russian capital.

It was not put forth that the Soviet doubted the pacific intentions of Finland herself, but the argument was that if Finnish territory should be utilized by
STILLBORN AGREEMENT WITH PUPPET STATE

After their invasion of Finland, the Russians set up in a captured Finnish village a puppet government under Otto Kuusinen, a Finnish Communist. Above, Molotov, the Russian Foreign Commissar, is seen signing a ‘treaty of mutual assistance and friendship’ with Kuusinen’s government. Standing, from left to right, are Voroshilov, Stalin, and Kuusinen.

another Power for an attack upon Russia the Soviet would be greatly handicapped by the strategic situation as determined by existing frontiers.

Four days before the Russian invasion commenced, Moscow announced that Finnish artillery on the Karelian Isthmus had fired seven rounds which fell on Soviet territory, one kilometre north-west of Mäiniälä, killing four Red Army men. On the same day M. Molotov handed a note to the Finnish Minister in Moscow proposing that Finnish troops should be removed 12 to 15 miles from the frontier. The Soviet Government "did not wish to exaggerate the importance of this incident, for which troops badly led by their commander were probably responsible."

Finland protested (see Historical Documents, No. 76) that on the day of the alleged incident there was no Finnish artillery unit in the area in question which could possibly have reached Soviet territory.

The mobilization of Finnish troops on the Karelian frontier was alleged by M. Molotov to be a hostile act against the Soviet Union, although Russia had begun mobilization in the Leningrad district as far back as September, 1939. On November 28 M. Molotov denounced the Non-Agression Pact between Finland and Russia. The next day Moscow broke off diplomatic relations with Finland. In spite of last-minute intermediation by the United States, on November 30, 1939, Russia began a military campaign against Finland.

If anyone had prophesied at the beginning of the Second Great War that the "Land of a Thousand Lakes" with its peaceful, industrious inhabitants, its reindeer, Lapps and skiers, would be among the first to experience the true horrors of warfare, the idea would have been held fantastic. But on the last day of November war came to Finland. At 9.15 a.m. the inhabitants of Helsinki gazed with consternation at the blue winter sky, which echoed the ominous drone of approaching Soviet warplanes. Simultaneously Red Army men launched attacks at eight points along Finland's 1,000-mile-long frontier.

(Finnish names are rather complicated, and it will simplify understanding of the Russo-Finnish war if a few constantly recurring terminations are remembered: "järvi" means lake; "joki" is river; "salmi" is strait.)

The eight fronts or sectors at which the attempted Russian invasion took place were, from south to north:

1. The Karelian Isthmus; the 50-mile-wide neck of land separating the Gulf of Finland from the waters of Lake Ladoga.
2. Salmi, on the north-eastern bank of Lake Ladoga, near the junction of the Finnish and Russian frontiers.
3. Suojärvi, about 90 miles north of Salmi, scene of Russia's second big defeat.
4. Liekki (Liekla), on Lake Päijänne.
5. Kulmoo, 50 miles north of Liekki.
6. Suomensalmi, in Finland's "wrap waist," scene of Russia's first big defeat.
7. Salli, nearly half way between Suomensalmi and the Arctic Ocean.
8. Pesamo, Finland's ice-free port on the Arctic Ocean.

The Russian simultaneous attack on Finland by air, sea and land emulated the method of Nazi Germany's attack on Poland. The launching of Red Army troops at eight different points along the Finnish-Russian frontier seemed to have the same object as Hitler's campaign in Poland—to threaten so many points at once that no reinforcements could be spared for any especially endangered sector; to achieve a breakthrough which would enable the flanks of the still resisting Finnish armies to be turned; and meanwhile, by means of parachute troops and repeated bombing, to cause dislocation in the rear of the Finns. But Baron von Mannerheim, the Finnish C-in-C, had envisaged a further attempt at Russian invasion sooner than he had beaten the Bolsheviks in 1918; as a former Russian General he accurately predicted Soviet tactics. The highly trained Finnish Army of some 200,000 men knew the country in which it would have to fight, and took full advantage of its forests, swamps and lakes.

Baron von Mannerheim anticipated that the heaviest Russian attacks would be made on the Karelian Isthmus. Previous Russian campaigns had always followed this route—crossing the Isthmus, working along the coast of the Gulf of Finland, and then turning north along the shores of the Gulf of Bothnia, cutting off every Finnish communication with the rest of Europe. The Finns, therefore, attached the greatest importance to holding the Russians on this front, and the result was the construction of the so-called Mannerheim Line on the Isthmus. This consists of a 20-mile-deep zone of defences running from south to north. Its most southerly point is on a line drawn eastwards from Koivisto Island in the Gulf of Finland to Taipale on Lake Ladoga. Its most northerly point is between the towns of Viipuri and Kakskaslump.

The backbone of the Mannerheim Line on the Karelian Isthmus is the water system of the Vuoksijoki River, which follows a most irregular course. It comes from the north and branches in lakes to the east and to the west; it converges the low, undulating hills of the
Karelian Isthmus into a death-trap of spongy grass, marsh and lake, afforested in parts, with few roads and few railways. When to these natural obstacles are added tank traps, machine-gun nests, trenches, dams, and a determined and skilful enemy, some idea of the difficulties of an invader can be imagined.

Three main phases of the Russian offensive on the Isthmus can be distinguished. The first was an attempt to turn the western wing of the defences on November 30, when, without any declaration of war, the undeclared Russian batteries opened fire. The Finns abandoned Terijoki and a number of small villages in accordance with pre-arranged plans, but took 1,200 prisoners and destroyed 19 Russian tanks in the process. Thereafter Russian attacks on the western wing were only spasmodic, consisting chiefly of naval bombardments and aerial bombing of the Koivisto coastal batteries. Finding the western defences too strong, the Russians turned their attention to the centre and east wing of the Mannerheim Line.

The first serious attempt to turn the Mannerheim defences in the east began on December 7, when the Russians launched a fierce attack across the Taipale River, one of the eastern outlets of the Vuoksi water system. On the rising afforested slopes of the northern bank of this river were concealed the Finnish batteries and machine-gun nests. As the Russians endeavoured to cross they were met with a murderous fire at point-blank range, and after heavy losses they abandoned the attempt. Then the Russians tried to land behind the Finnish defences by the use of motor boats on Lake Ladoga. But the boats were smashed by the lake coastal defence batteries of the Finns. By December 17 the river and lake had frozen and the Russians made their final attack, but losing 14 of the 50 tanks they employed in this attempt.

Alternating with their attacks to cross the Taipale, the Finns made heavy attacks on the Finnish centre at Lake Suvanto. The fighting started at Kiviniemi, south of the lake, on December 8. Further attacks followed at Muolajärvi and Kaukjärvi towards the middle of the month. The Finns smashed bottles of petrol against the Russian tanks on the approaches to the lake; Finnish riflemen picked off Red soldiers by the score. At one point 700 Russian dead were left on the frozen surface of the lake. Nevertheless, with the unimaginative courage common to their race, the Russians came on in menacing streams. The Finns were forced to retreat in the centre, but on December 22 they counter-attacked, thus taking the initiative for the first time on the Karelian Isthmus. The Russian losses in material and men had been enormous. In one week, on the central Karelian front, the Finns claimed to have captured 128 Russian tanks. In the two days of December 15 and 16, 30 Russian tanks were destroyed. The Arctic frosts were as great an enemy of Russian mechanization as the Finns. Many tanks and armoured cars were abandoned, immobilized in the snow and ice. Defeated in their frontal attacks, the Russians bombarded Viipuri, headquarters of the Finnish Karelian Command, with long-range guns whose shells made craters twelve feet in diameter.

On the second front (the Salmi sector), on the north-eastern shores of Lake Ladoga, where the Finnish and Russian boundaries meet, the Red Army could report superficial progress at the end of the first month's fighting. Russian troops, estimated at a division, had advanced 40 miles into Finnish territory, and the Finns had withdrawn to prepared positions on the Koirinoja River.

Very different was the story on the Suojärvi Front. Here, in the region of Tolvajärvi and Äglajärvi, the Russians suffered one of their two outstanding

**SOVIET SHELLS FIRE A FINNISH VILLAGE**

The photograph below, which reached London on December 22, 1939, was one of the first to be taken in the war zone on the Karelian Isthmus. Standing out against the snow is a pall of smoke rising from a Finnish village set on fire by Soviet shells.

*Photo, Press Association*
defeats of the first month of hostilities. Early in December they had occupied a small strip of territory at Suojärvi, which is a few miles inside the Finnish border. Their object was evidently to cut the railway between Joensuu and Sortavala, which would have served them for an advance to the north or south, outflanking the Mannerheim defences. On December 11 Russian shock troops, estimated at two divisions (one of which was in reserve), advanced from Petrozavodsk, which is connected by a branch line with the Leningrad-Murmansk railway, to the eastern shore of Lake Tolvä. This lake is shaped like an elongated figure eight. A long bent finger of spruce-covered land comes out from its eastern side and almost cuts it in two. The main road from the Russian frontier rides on the top of this narrow finger. Then a bridge links it with the western shore.

The Russians poured great masses of men over the "finger," but they rushed into a trap. The Finns had their with heavy fire. Only eight of the men got across, but they captured the Russian guns at the bridgehead, turned them on the enemy, and the way was opened for the destruction of virtually the entire Soviet division.

By nightfall the next day hundreds of Russian dead were strewn on the snow around the peninsula. The Finns closed their pincers from both ends of the lake and the only surviving Russian soldiers ran frantically to headlong retreat. For the next eight days the Finns pressed the Russians relentlessly. The latter threw in their reserve division, but at Lake Agle their defeat was completed. Vivid pictures of this disaster were painted by correspondents who visited the front. One wrote:

"One night only traveled the twenty miles of winding road through heavily forested territory from Lake Tolvä eastward to Lake Agle to see irrevocable testimony of the Russians' overwhelming defeat. We found buckled wire obstacles at every turn. Occasional wide stretches of fir trees had been leveled to permit open terrain for artillery and machine-gun fire. We passed scores of abandoned Russian trucks, and

HEAVY LOSSES OF RED AIR FORCE

Although it began with a great numerical superiority, the Red Air Force suffered heavily in combat with the Finns. By Jan. 20, 1940 the Russians had lost over 200 aeroplanes. Our photographs show above, Soviet planes flying over Helsinki; left, a Finnish machine brought down by Finnish anti-aircraft fire; below, a Red Air Force plane, brought down almost intact in a snow-covered forest.

Photo: Associated Press; Central Press; Wide World
others loaded with captured war material, being driven back into Finland. Again and again we came across disabled Russian tanks, pushed to ditches beside the road. Sometimes they were single tanks, sometimes we came across three or four lying wrecked in a row. Once we got out and saw some evidence of the extremely powerful Finnish anti-tank guns—gaping holes, two inches wide or more, which had been cut clean through the tank's thick armament. Most of the tanks, however, had been destroyed by hand grenades or inflammable explosives tossed under their tracks by daring Finnish soldiers who had waited in deep holes close beside the road.

Inside most of these tanks were the charred remains of its Russian occupants—all four in ghastly postures which somehow resembled those of Polynesian dancers. We counted more than forty such tanks, and several were said to have plunged off bridges and disappeared beneath the waters of the lake.

In the forests on either side of the road were hundreds of crude shelters which had been built by the Russians when they came in. They were funny shelters made of arms, branches, completely incapable of providing any warmth in this Arctic climate.

Bases of the Red Army had groaned the bark from the trunks of the trees. The Russians had pressed forward to Lake Tolvja without bringing more than a day's supply of hay for their horses.

Of the men of the two or more Russian divisions employed on the

WHERE A RUSSIAN LANDING WAS FOILED

On November 30, 1939, the day on which Russia invaded Finland, the Russians attempted a landing at Hangö, and the fortress there was bombarded by Soviet warships. The Russians were unable to affect a landing, and the 8,000-ton cruiser "Kirov" (top), of the Soviet Baltic Fleet, was severely damaged. In the photo are some of the garrison of one of the Finnish coast fortifications which took part in the action.

Mannerheim Line. Most of them were between 20 and 28 years old, well clad and equipped, and members of the Comsomol, which trains picked youths for entry into the Communist Party.

The battle of Tolvajärvi had important reactions on the Liekas (Liekas) sector—the next to the north. The Russians were reported advancing towards Nurmes, an important town on the railway running from Lake Ladoga to the Swedish frontier, on December 6. Following the rout of the Russians at Tolvajärvi and the consequent disorganization behind their lines, Finnish storm battalions were able to cross into Russian territory opposite Liekas on Christmas Eve, after routing their opponents, thus carrying the war for the first time on to Russian soil.

On the Kuhmo front, 50 miles north of Liekas, no important engagements were reported on either side. But it was on Storumsalmi, one of the most desolate regions, with only three inhabitants to the square mile, that the eyes of Finland's sympathizers were directed in the early weeks of the war. It was here, too, where Finland's "waistline"—the 140-mile-wide stretch of territory between the Gulf of Bothnia and the Russian frontier—seemed to render her particularly vulnerable to attack, that the Red Army suffered its first big reverse. If Russia had been able to drive across the "waistline," she would have cut the country in two, separating Finland's northern and southern armies.
On December 3 the Russians were reported to be advancing against Suomussalmi from their railhead at Uhtua. Seemingly, they made good progress, the Finns admitting on December 10 that the enemy had advanced 18 miles, but again the Russians were blundering into a trap. Disaster overtook them at Lake Kianta, on which Suomussalmi is situated. This lake has two northern arms; and the Russians advanced confidently until they reached the westernmost. But the territory here forms a natural trap, which some 15,000 Russian troops entered early in December. The elusives worked round to their rear, cut their supplies and waited for the Russians to freeze in the intense cold. Day after day the Russians halted, daring neither to move nor to light fires which would have attracted Finnish snipers, and hoping for reinforcements to come from Russia. But Finnish patrols had also raided the Murmansk-Lenmgad railway and cut the branch railway from Uhtua at several points. The Russians' powers of resistance sank lower and lower. The cold froze their feet and finger-tips, so that they could hardly walk or sight a gun.

For ten days an occasional shot in the frozen forest was the only sound to break the silence, until the trapped division was attacked. The invaders put up a stout resistance for three days, but on the fourth all was over. Thousands of Russians were killed, and of the survivors many were unable to stand. Scènes outstanding even among the horrors of modern warfare were witnessed after the battle. Newly fallen snow cast a mantle over the recumbent forms of thousands of Russian dead. Frozen limbs projected like dead branches above the snow; trees were pitted with machine-gun bullets, while in thicketes around were found the machine-gun nests of the Russians, the crews dead at their stations.

The Finns claimed that the 163rd Russian Division of 18,000 men had been virtually destroyed. Twenty-seven guns, 11 tanks, 150 lorries and 500 other vehicles, besides much ammunition, were captured. But Finnish losses also are believed to have been heavy. If not decisive, the Finnish success removed, temporarily, at least, the threat to Finland's 'waist-line.' Suomussalmi was abandoned by the Russians; in their flight so hastily that the body of a wounded Russian soldier was found frozen on the operating-table in a building adapted as a hospital. The victory of Suomussalmi was completed when, early in January, 1940 (as related in a subsequent Chapter), the Finns routed and destroyed the Russian division (144th) in reserve on this sector.

The second Russian threat to Finland's 'waist-line' was at Salla. Russian columns began pouring towards Kemijärvi, the most easterly point of the railroad from Tornio, on the Swedish frontier, early in December. The Finns made stout counter-attacks, but the Russians employed Finnish Communist troops on this front, who were just as skilful fighters as the defenders themselves. Salla was captured by the Russians on December 12, but the Finns claimed the recapture of the village two days later. The fighting was most bitter, the Finns using daggers for close work in the dark woods. At the end of the year no decisive action had been fought on this front; but the activities of Russian patrols, who had interrupted the Russian communications by daring raids on skis behind the Russian lines—notably at Uhtua, where they destroyed several Russian planes.

**CAPTIVES OF ILL-FATED 163RD DIVISION**

In the fierce fighting around Suomussalmi, at the end of 1939 and the beginning of 1940, the Finns destroyed two Russian divisions. Below is part of a column of Russian prisoners from the 163rd Division, captured near Pelkosenniemi, and here seen marching into a Finnish camp. Later the reserve Russian division in this sector was routed also.
AIR RAID DAMAGE IN THE FINNISH CAPITAL.

Helsinki was within easy range of Soviet bombers and inevitably became an important objective of the war. Above, inhabitants sheltering against a high wall during a raid on the city. Below, left, a block of flats in Helsinki split by a bomb. A demolition squad is clearing the ruins. On the right, the blazing remains of a motor-bus after the raiders had passed. Below, right, a church in Helsinki wrecked by Soviet bombs.

Photos: Associated Press; Wide World; Nordisk Press; Central Press.
CONDOTTIERE OF THE SNOWS

General Wallenius, seen above during a tour of inspection of the Salla sector, was appointed to the command of the Finnish armies operating in the north. Author, journalist, ex-commissar, soldier, former Chief of the General Staff, Martin Wallenius is the hero of a hundred exploits. Like Mannerheim, he fought against the Reds in the Civil War of 1918.

The largest Russian attack came in the middle of December. The retreating Finns burned everything which could be of use to the invaders. The township of Salmijärvi, 30 miles from the mouth of the Petsamo River, was razed to the ground, and the British-owned nickel mines at Kolosjoki were blown up.

To the end of December the Finns were holding a line some 50 miles south of Petsamo, and the Russians were apparently held up by lack of supplies. Support from bombing planes and from warships anchored near Petsamo contributed largely to the Russian advance on this front, but the danger of a further advance along the Great Arctic Highway—Finland's motor road from Petsamo to Tornio, at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia—seemed to recede with the approach of the Arctic winter in all its severity.

Frequent bombing of Finland's roads and communications was a feature of Soviet tactics, and civilians suffered; news from reliable sources was scanty at the time, but from later investigation it appeared that civilian casualties had been surprisingly small (see Chapter 143).
The two worst raids of this early period were on the opening day of hostilities (when some civilians were killed in Helsinki) and on Christmas Day, when Helsinki, Sortaval, Tarku and Hangö were among the places raided. The Russians did not have it all their own way in the air, however, and during this period the Finnish Higher Command claimed the destruction of 25 enemy machines; a fair estimate is that the Russians lost at least 100 aircraft during the first month of the war. Some observers placed the Russian losses at 200 aircraft, 212 tanks, and 100,000 killed and wounded in this period. The Finnish Air Force repeatedly bombed the Russian forces and their communications, outstanding operations being several raids on the Leningrad-Murmansk railway.

Russian naval operations were confined to the capture of five undefended islands in the Gulf of Finland, among them Summräri, and to bombardments of the Finnish coast and especially of the Koiristo coastal batteries.

At the end of the year the Finns, under the Premiership of Dr. Risto Ryti, who on the second day of the war formed a new Government consisting to a large extent of financial experts, were confident. Foreign supplies were reaching them in satisfactory quantities, and if these were maintained they hoped to defend themselves successfully in the future. Finland's case was ably stated at Geneva, when, at the appeal of Nations for help (see Historic Documents, No. 71), and her country was just as ably defended by her soldiers.

As to the causes of the Finns' astonishing success against their mighty neighbour, the natural difficulties of forest and marsh, intensely cold weather, and lack of communications no doubt played a major role. The Finns proved themselves born fighters, versed in the art of camouflage; they were good marksmen and, owing to their skill on skis, possessed much greater mobility than the Russians. The Russian army, on the other hand, showed certain deficiencies in equipment and organization. Outstanding defects seemed to be insufficient or unsuitable clothing for an Arctic campaign, and the launching of mass attacks which gave good targets to the Finns.

"The Russians are like a herd of reindeer," said one Finnish soldier. "We shoot and shoot until our ammunition is gone, but still more of them advance over the dead bodies of their comrades." The Russians showed the customary bravery of their race, but seemed ignorant of the art of forest warfare.

As suggested above, the success of the Finnish arms was largely due to the daring ski patrols, which penetrated for scores of miles into Russian territory and disorganized the only route on which the Russians could rely for supplies—the Leningrad-Murmansk railway. This view was expressed by General Wallinna, commander of the Finnish Northern Armies, who stated the Finnish problem as follows:

"This war is a problem of mathematics. We have to guess where the Russians will try to break through, and have troops in sufficient quantity at those places. We replace numbers by intelligence. Our soldiers are individual fighters. The Russians can never overcome the herd instinct."

But it should be pointed out that this was the first real campaign to be fought by the modern Russian armies, and it was too early yet to perceive the basic strategy of the Soviet High Command.

**ONE OF MANY DISABLED RUSSIAN TANKS**

The Soviet Army suffered vast losses in tanks and other mechanized equipment during their attacks upon the Maxerheim Line. Finnish soldiers are here seen examining a Russian light tank which has been put out of action, apparently by the Finns' favourite method of thrusting logs into the machinery.
MAINTAINING ESSENTIAL HOME FOOD SUPPLIES

In this page are seen various aspects of the maintenance of Britain's food supply in wartime. Above, Mr. W. S. Morrison, Minister for Food, watches the unloading of a cargo of meat at a British port. On the right, sugar beet is being taken off the lorries at a Yorkshire factory. Below, fishermen, carrying on as usual despite the menace of German mines and bombs, are hauling in nets.
Chapter 42

ENSURING BRITAIN'S FOOD SUPPLIES: CONTROL AND RATIONING OF COMMODITIES

Pre-War Precautions—Gigantic Task of the Food Ministry—The Pooling and Bulk Buying of Foodstuffs—Rationing of Butter and Bacon—The Position with Regard to Sugar—Britain’s Increased Output of Beet Sugar—The Control and Rationing of Meat—Why Rationing of Foodstuffs was Necessary: The Minister’s Explanation

One of the greatest errors of the war of 1914–1918 was the omission to set up a national system of food control until the struggle had run its course. For two years and more, supply and demand were allowed to regulate the prices of the essentials of the people’s life, with the result that retail food prices rose about sixty per cent, food queues were a common sight in the cities and towns, on every hand there were signs of the most shocking mismanagement and waste, and from every quarter came complaints of hoarding and shortage and unfairness in distribution. At last when the nation’s patience was exhausted and the whole economic machinery of the country was creaking and cracking under the strain, a Ministry of Food was established which eventually, under the wise direction of Lord Rhondda, brought order out of chaos and made need give way to, not plenty indeed, but a comfortable sufficiency.

No such mistaken delay was seen in 1939. Months before the war began the Food (Defence) Plans Department of the Board of Trade, under Mr. W. S. Morrison, M.P., had prepared the way for a fully-fledged Ministry. Large stocks of some of the most valuable but more perishable foodstuffs—wheat and sugar, for instance—were accumulated. Arrangements were made for taking over the purchase of foodstuffs from abroad and controlling the whole system of marketing and distribution, and the foundations were laid of a rationing system which should ensure that the available stocks were distributed in the fairest and most effective way. Furthermore, production was stimulated, and farmers and smallholders and the great army of amateur gardeners were exhorted and encouraged to grow more food.

The Food Ministry was born on September 8, 1939, and the Minister, Mr. Morrison, at once set in motion the machinery which had been elaborated for the emergency. No new army of officials was created or was even contemplated to deal with food at the docks or markets or other centres. The intention,” said Mr. Morrison, “is that the task of food distribution shall remain in the hands of traders, men who know it from A to Z, and whom the Government—which is another way of saying ‘the agents of the public.’”

Private trade in foodstuffs obtained from abroad was terminated, and the Ministry became almost overnight the biggest buying organization in the world, as might be expected from the fact that it was now charged with the feeding of 46,500,000 people. Prices of the most important foodstuffs were controlled, and in September the first of a series of lists was issued, fixing the maximum retail prices of butter, eggs, condensed milk, flour, sugar, canned salmon, potatoes, and dried fruits. In this way, which had occurred in some overseas markets, was prevented from having their repercussions at home.

As part of the Government’s policy of preparedness for enemy air raids on a large scale, the metropolitan markets of Smithfield and Billingsgate were decentralized. After a few weeks, however, the latter was restored to its old home in London, so widespread was the confusion, so many the complaints at the delays and inadequate accommodation, that arose when instead of one great centre, where middlemen could deal with retailer direct there were a large number of much smaller centres established in outlying regions.

This was the first of the Ministry’s errors of commission—one which, be it admitted, was soon rectified when public opinion expressed itself loudly and forthrightly. There was another error, however, which could not be so readily disowned—what came to be known by the name of Pooling.

Whether it was because of the simplicity of operation or because of the cheapness that might be expected to result, the Ministry planned to “pool”—in other words, mix—the available stocks of some of the most vital foodstuffs, i.e., tea, margarine, butter, dried fruits, and meat paste.

From the outbreak of war the main overseas purchases were controlled by the Ministry; competitive bidding was eliminated, and the Ministry bought in bulk all the available supplies. This gave, so it was claimed, the best possible assurance for the essential supplies from overseas at the lowest possible price. Pooling in purchasing, then, would seem to be fully justified.

Nor could there be much objection, in principle at least, to pooling in distribution. Indeed, this was declared by the Ministry to be an essential preliminary to the rationing scheme which was announced to come into force sooner or later. Rationing necessitated fixing the quantities which a consumer might buy, and ensuring that he actually received them. Thus, it was urged, the Ministry must control supply through all its stages, and in effect what it did. But pooling in quality was on a different plane. Admitted that in wartime a blending or manufacturing firm may come to be deprived of the full range of grades of the raw materials required for a particular variety of article, or it may be impossible to frame a list of maximum prices without reducing the number of varieties on sale. But when it was announced that not only margarine but tea was to be “pooled,” there was a tremendous outcry.

Only for a brief space, in fact, was a standardized brand of “margarine” seen in the shops—it was alleged to contain vitamins A and D to bring it up to the vitamin value of butter, and retailed at a standard price of 6d. per lb.—and then the brands of the various manufacturers were again on sale. As for tea, no standard variety was issued. Nevertheless, the Ministry did good work in requisitioning all the existing stocks of tea, in taking over the control of all fresh arrivals, and in marketing the tea in Britain. As a result, tea prices went up somewhat.

Of the other commodities included in the pooling plans, there was no blending or mixing of butters, although all butters were made subject to the same maximum retail price. Grades of dried fruits were actually pooled and mixed, to secure fair distribution following the shortage of supplies in September. As
soon as bulk stocks arrived, maximum wholesale and retail prices were fixed, and the situation eased.

On November 1 Mr. Morrison announced that the first foods to be rationed would be bacon (which included ham) and butter. For the first few weeks of the war bacon supplies were short. Although the pig population of the country stood at 3,758,000 in 1918, home-cured bacon met only one-fifth of the country's normal needs.

Problems

The remaining four-fifths had come from overseas, principally from Denmark, Eire, Canada, and the Baltic countries. For a few days following the outbreak of war shipments from Denmark, representing 35 per cent of the imports, were entirely suspended, and although they were resumed after a period of uncertainty, it was obvious that the activities of the Nazi submarines and minesweepers might at any time result in a fresh suspension. Supplies from the Baltic countries ceased, of course, but there was little doubt that the flow of bacon from Canada and Eire would be maintained.

Apart from the reduction in supplies, the distribution of bacon within the country raised difficulties which again pointed towards a system of Government control and eventual rationing. Distributors accustomed to handling Danish bacon found their supplies cut off for a short time, while those handling Irish or Canadian bacon sometimes found themselves handling exceptionally large quantities owing to the fact that ships in wartime arrived irregularly, and might be diverted to ports other than their customary ports of call; on account of the need for secrecy, it might be impossible to give advance information of their arrival.

Acting through BINDA (Bacon Importers National Defence Association Ltd.) and normal trade channels with committees fully representative of the trade, the Government, with a view to the equitable distribution of the available supplies, divided the country into areas to which stocks were allocated as nearly as possible in strict proportion to their requirements. The evacuation of London and some of the provincial cities greatly increased the difficulties attending the scheme, and there was criticism of the "datum period" for bacon supplies, which was believed to be the four weeks ending August 19, when large numbers of people were away from their homes on holiday. Hence, in the event, holiday resorts found themselves with a large surplus of bacon, while the cities to which the holiday-makers had returned were correspondingly deficient. The same criticism was advanced in connexion with butter, the datum period for which was June 5 to July 29, 1939—also a holiday period.

Owing to the temporary cessation or restriction of imported supplies the country became specially dependent on home-cured and Irish bacon. As a result, those traders normally handling home-produced bacon—and their customers—tended to be in a better position than those who depended on imported bacon. To remedy this apparent unfairness the Ministry of Food took powers impossible for the Ministry to accumulate a stock in readiness for the expected emergency. If butter had been taken from the market for storage there would have been a corresponding reduction of stocks available, which would have caused a rise in price. While certain butters can be kept quite well over long periods in cold storage, the latter is expensive; and, besides, the cold storage at the Ministry's disposal was limited. It was stated that the largest quantity of butter which could have been withdrawn from the market for cold storage was about 20,000 tons a year, this would have sufficed to add only 4 oz. of butter per week to an individual ration for a period of four weeks. To make good the anticipated deficiency in the wartime supplies of butter, resort was had to margarine.

The Government set itself the threefold task of making certain that ample stocks of the raw materials for margarine production were brought into the country, that the margarine factories should be enabled greatly to increase production, and that there should be no undue increase in the retail price of "marge." Unlike butter, the raw materials for margarine manufacture could be brought in large quantities for storage without disturbing the peacetime markets, and, moreover, it could be stored inexpensively, A big reserve was therefore secured before the war began, and further contracts for supplies of the necessary oil seeds were entered into in due course. As to the manufacture of the finished article, the Ministry arranged in consultation with the margarine manufacturers that they should concentrate on the production of one standard blend at a standard price. By the middle of November the enlarged stocks of raw materials and the increased production of the factories enabled the Ministry to free the industry and to allow the manufacturers to resume the production of proprietary brands. Nevertheless, it was admitted that the control established at the outbreak of war had been absolutely necessary in order to allow production to be increased on a scale sufficient to meet all potential needs, and to prevent any rise in the price.

Butter and bacon, then, were the two foodstuffs chosen for the first stage of rationing, and from what has been said above it will be realised that the Ministry had little difficulty in justifying the step. Announcing the Government's intentions in the House of Commons on November 1, Mr. Morrison said that in the case of these two commodities it was not proposed to begin rationing
before the middle of December. The actual date would be announced later, and during the interval each consumer would be asked to register with a retailer of his or her choice.

"Both butter and bacon," he went on, "are perishable. Neither commodity was suitable for storage, and consequently no Government reserve of either existed on the outbreak of hostilities. Later, we expect supplies to increase, but for the present imports from European sources have been reduced, and there has not been sufficient time to fill the gap from more distant sources of supply. Provided that imports continue at the present rate, as there is good reason for assuming that they will, the ration for both bacon and butter will be 4 oz. per week for every individual consumer, i.e. 1 lb. of bacon and 1 lb. of butter for a family of four persons.

The Minister next dealt with the question of sugar. Supplies were at present adequate, he said —a few weeks earlier the Ministry of Food had made arrangements for the purchase of one year's requirements—and the Government did not desire to impose the rationing of sugar for the present. If each consumer restricted purchase to 1 lb. per head per week, he went on, there would be sufficient for some months. But the need for rationing. At the same time the Government would ask each consumer to register for sugar with a retailer, although it would not be necessary to use the coupons in the ration books which were being prepared.

On the whole the Government's proposals were received philosophically enough. Most people would not have been surprised if rationing had been introduced in the first few days of the war, and now the day was postponed to the middle of December.

Satisfaction increased when on the morrow of Mr. Morrison's speech it was announced that the introduction of the rationing scheme might be still further postponed until Christmas or more probably January 1. owing, in the case of butter, to the shipments which, as in normal years, were arriving from New Zealand, Australia, and the Argentine, and which would reach their peak just before Christmas.

The postponement did not meet with universal approval, however, and the case of the critics was presented in the House of Commons on November 8, when Mr. A. V. Alexander, the principal spokesman of the Co-operative movement, moved that "the measures with respect to food supply should be more energetically directed towards arresting the continuous rise in prices and ensuring that the day-to-day requirements of all sections of the community shall be fairly met through the immediate application of a comprehensive rationing scheme." Mr. Alexander's argument was that rationing of bacon and butter would not begin until the middle of December at the earliest, and would then provide only 4 oz. a head of butter a week and a similar amount of bacon or ham. In his opinion rationing should be introduced at once, as (he declared) from every side there were complaints of a shortage of bacon and butter as well as other commodities. There was no reason why rationing should not be instituted next week; they did not beg it, they demanded it.

Mr. Morrison in his reply said that if he saw a severe scarcity of meat or any other commodity in sight he would certainly recommend that the House should agree to its rationing, but they did not want to see the matter treated as a doctrine—just though rationing were good for its own sake. While he recognized the virtues of rationing (he went on) he also saw the drawbacks from the ordinary consumer's point of view.

Rationing was bound to be worked out on a mathematical calculation of the total supply divided by the number of the population. But the flat average which resulted from such a calculation did not conform to the reality. Everyone did not eat the same kind of food, nor the same quantities of it. Therefore, he believed that they should leave it to the consumer the utmost amount of freedom possible. While proceeding with preparations for rationing, he thought that they should do so with prudence, and not ask people to undergo the inconvenience of rationing unless there was such a shortage of a commodity as to interfere with equitable distribution.

Days and weeks passed, and still no definite date for the commencement of the rationing scheme was announced, although the work of registration with the retailers proceeded smoothly. Then on November 29 came the clear announcement by Mr. Morrison in the House of Commons that the rationing scheme for bacon and butter would be introduced on January 8, 1940, when the ration for both commodities would be, as previously stated, 4 oz. per week for every individual consumer.
As things turned out, sugar also was rationed from January 8, and the allowance was fixed at 12 oz. a week for each person. This was announced by the Ministry of Food on December 26, when it was also stated that meat would be rationed at a date to be announced later, although consumers were asked to register for meat supplies with their retailer not later than January 8.

There was some surprise that the amount of the sugar ration was to be 12 oz. a week for each person, considerably less than the 1 lb. a week to which the public had been asked to limit their consumption. "The people of this country," said Mr. Morrison in an accompanying statement issued by the Ministry on December 26, "are among the highest consumers of sugar in the world. Rationing will still leave us high in the list. In Germany the ration is 24 oz. a week, but jam also is rationed at 24 oz. for adults and 34 oz. for children. Here children and adults alike will get a full allowance of all the rationed foods. Sugar is an important and convenient source of energy, but the same energy is available in alternative foods, especially in potatoes and other vegetables which provide valuable protective elements as well."

Appropriate allowances of sugar for confectionery manufacturers, bakers, and in other special cases were announced, and special arrangements were made for domestic marmalade-makers. It was also made known that the Government was not only the imported meat but all livestock offered by farmers for slaughter, and would control the distribution of all meat supplies both home-produced and imported. As the ration would be based on value, its weight would vary with the consumer's choice of quality. The "edible offals"—tripes, liver, hearts, kidneys, tongues, sweetbreads, and oxtails—would not be rationed, nor would the manufactured products—sausages, braised meat pies, galantines, and meat pastes.

Speaking generally, the Minister declared that "the rationing scheme gives ordinary citizens a chance of joining in the good work being done by the Navy and the mercantile marine. It enables them to unite in a national effort to reduce the claims and strains on our shipping, both naval and merchant, and it permits a greater dedication of our shipping to the purposes of war, the transport of men and munitions, of essential raw materials, and of goods whose export brings in foreign exchange. The scheme will help to make our war effort more efficient. It will release both foreign exchange and shipping space for the importation of armaments and raw materials. The rationed foods lorry drivers, etc.; Adolescent's Supplementary, in respect of boys aged from 13 to 18—not girls, be it noted—containing an extra page of meat coupons; Heavy Worker's Supplementary, also with an extra page of meat coupons, but representing a larger ration in addition; Weekly Seaman's, for seamen on weekly engagements who had meals at different ports; and, finally, cards for use by soldiers, sailors, and airmen on leave. In the event, however, the Adolescent's Supplementary and Heavy Worker's Supplementary cards were not issued.

Each class of ration book was of a distinctive colour, but every book contained pages of coupons for the five foods which it was thought might be included in the rationing scheme—meat, bacon and ham, butter and margarine, cooking fats, and sugar. Pages of spare coupons were also issued to serve for foods which might be rationed later. As mentioned above, the only foods rationed at the outset were bacon (including ham) and butter (which did not include margarine), and, some weeks later, meat.

On receiving the book the consumer was required to register with a shop or shops for the rationed foods, and the retailer then attached a counterfeit from the book which became his warrant for applying to the local Food Officer to buy the necessary supplies. He was not permitted to buy more than the total amounts for which his permit was issued. Then at the time of purchase the retailer detached from the book a coupon representing the amount of butter or bacon or meat supplied, or, by arrangement with his customer, he detached the complete page for convenience.

No doubt it was in a measure because so many people remembered the satisfactory working of the rationing scheme in the First World War that the scheme that began on January 8, 1916, had a smooth, almost uncritiqued reception. But, more still, it was because it was recognized as a necessary war measure. "I leave you with this conclusion," said Mr. Morrison at the end of his broadcast to the nation on January 6: "we will not ask our men folk at sea to bring us more food than we need. Let them bring instead of that surplus more and more of all that will increase our protection and their strength. And, until we have won the victory, we at home will share out what our men bring us as they share the dangers of their service."
AFTER A RUSSIAN AIR RAID ON HELSINKI

Helsinki is less than 200 miles from Leningrad by air, across the Gulf of Finland, and is very vulnerable to attack. As an important seaport and the Finnish capital, it was exposed to frequent bombing. This block of flats was destroyed in one of the first raids soon after the outbreak of hostilities.

Photo, Central Press
FINLAND'S WHITE KNIGHTS OF LIBERTY

Gently sliding to the Russian border, the Fins learned the inescapable lesson that they were not invincible. The Red Army, with superior forces, overran the Fins. This photograph shows a typical Finn slogging through the snow-covered terrain in his only great strength—his Dorset sheepskin boots.

Photo: Found News
Chapter 43

THE WESTERN NEUTRALS: POSITION OF HOLLAND, BELGIUM, LUXEMBURG AND SPAIN

Neutrals did not Fear Allied Aggression—Strategic Importance of the Low Countries to Germany—Luxemburg a Centre of Espionage—Holland and Belgium Prepared to Defend their Independence against Germany—The Situation of Switzerland—Spain was Disillusioned by the Nazi-Soviet Pact

No more peacefully inclined and absolutely neutral countries existed than the small western neutrals and Spain. The last-named was differently situated in relation to the war, not only geographically but politically. On merely economic grounds all these countries were bound to suffer much even as neutrals, owing to the dislocation of international trade; while Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland had to bear a heavy charge on their limited resources for unavoidable special measures of defence, the most onerous of which were the various degrees of mobilization forced upon them by the ever-increasing threat of a German invasion. After an interlude of quiet while Queen Wilhelmina and King Leopold put forward their plea for peace negotiations between the belligerents, there was a resumption of the threatening tone of German propaganda against Holland and Belgium and of the troop concentrations near their frontiers; and before the end of the year they were hurriedly extending in concert their military measures.

It was a remarkable indication of the world-wide recognition of the fact that Germany was the law-breaker and the Allies the upholders of international law, that nowhere among the small neutrals during those anxious months was there any fear of an Allied aggression against their frontiers. The costly preparations to defend their independence were entirely inspired by German actions and the black German record. In spite of the far-reaching agreement with Soviet Russia, and the possibility of certain supplies being added to the German stores of war essentials and food, it was increasingly realized, as the autumn passed into winter, that the compulsion to initiate a great offensive lay upon Germany and not upon the Allies, whose naval blockade was strangling their internal economy.

In 1914 Germany's near achievement of a lightning victory had been frustrated mainly by the diversion in the East caused by the Russian armies; France was comparatively open to invasion then, and the Germans, by brutally smashing their way through Belgium, had made sure of bursting into French territory in the north and of occupying strategically important naval bases on the Belgian coast at Zeebrugge and Ostend. The importance of these bases then was mainly for the U-boat counter-blockade, but in 1939 the acquisition of coastal bases closer to England than the Friesian Islands had assumed a new importance, because they would include seaplanes and bomber bases from which shipping and vital centres in Britain could be more conveniently attacked. This development of the air warfare, which began to rival, and indeed to exceed in importance, the U-boat campaign, was one of the factors of the early months of the war of 1939 which distinguished the campaign from that of 1914. When the bad weather set in during November, 1939, postponing the prospects of a big land offensive, the naval war in the air, as it might be termed, soon enlarged its role in operations. Before Christmas, the Nazi command had characteristically incurred further condemnation by extending hostilities to fishing trawlers, the crews of which were mercilessly machine-gunned when forced to take to their boats. (See Chapter 47 for an account of this aspect of the war.)

By the latter part of December, 1939, it was obvious that the main German air forces, which greatly exceeded as yet in quantity, if not in quality, the combined British and French, were being held in reserve; and even without the other menacing signs of German concentrations on land it had become clear that in this war the Dutch coast would be the kind of strategic objective that the Germans were unlikely to deny themselves out of respect for international law. If they invaded Holland, they would probably invade Belgium at the same time, not merely as a further threat to the French defenses, but to secure the coastal areas for their naval and air bases. And when this should occur the overrunning of the Duchy of Luxemburg, situated between eastern Belgium and the Maginot Line, was a foregone conclusion, for Luxemburg could offer no resistance. The other strategic "question-mark" was the possibility of a German invasion of Switzerland, probably from near Basle.

RESPONSIBLE FOR BELGIUM'S DEFENCES

Above are three of the men who were responsible for the defense of Belgium at the time of the threatened German offensive in January, 1940: Lt.-Gen. Van den Bergen, Chief of the General Staff of the Belgian Army; his deputy, Maj.-Gen. Van Tuylen; and Maj.-Gen. Berlaymont, Lt.-Gen. Van den Bergen resigned on January 31, and was succeeded by Maj.-Gen. Michiels.

Photo, R. Jaimak
to Besançon, as a means of outflanking the French Maginot Line.

The problem of Switzerland, however, was less closely bound up with that of her small fellow neutrals, and to get a clear picture of the situation it will be better first to consider the position of these latter countries.

Luxemburg, with an area of less than a thousand square miles, a population of about 300,000, and an "army" of 250 men, could be ignored as a barrier to aggression.

Luxemburg's position and the fact that its mining industries (an extension of the German Saar) were comparatively important left no prospect of the Duchy remaining free from invasion when a large-scale land offensive should begin. A point of divergence from the campaign of 1914, however, was that a German invasion here would release a French advance from the Maginot Line along the southern frontier, in an attempt to hold up the German advance by a flank attack. The northern end of the Duchy, projecting into Belgium where the former German areas of Eupen and Malmedy were situated, was even less likely to be respected if the German forces invaded Belgium. But assuming that such an invasion would form part of a larger offensive, including the occupation of Dutch coastal areas, the military difficulties for the invaders might be considerable, faced as they were by strong French fortifications from which an Allied advance could safely be made. Therefore the German military had established a network of espionage during the autumn all over the Low Countries, with Luxemburg as the centre, and this was used in conjunction with unceasing propaganda against the Allies, which till December, 1939, at least influenced a good many Dutch citizens.

The main defensive measures of the Dutch Government consisted in preparations to flood certain areas at short notice, and these areas were in the path of a German invasion. Before the middle of November, 1939, by agreement with Belgium, Holland had not only raised the water level of the flood areas in preparation, but had undertaken considerable mobilization of her armed forces. Her mobilized first-line forces numbered only 144,000, a total which could be raised to about 270,000 with the partly trained reserves. Her navy and air force were small.

But the firmness of the Dutch Government was indicated by the proclamation of a "state of siege" in the areas vital to the main defence, which meant principally the fortified lines of the Maas and Ijssel rivers, and the two chief flood areas. One of these latter was the marsh and fenland west of the Maas, which could quickly be inundated by opening the canal sluices: twenty miles behind this was the Zuider Water Line, a great semicircle. About twenty miles behind this again was the New Dutch Water Line, where (at great cost to this little country) far more serious flooding could be done, sufficient to form a formidable barrier which should delay invaders for precious days, and practically all the Dutch industrial area would remain behind it. The difficulty,
especially from a British point of view, it was that these defences did not protect the greater portion of the coast suitable for naval and air bases in the north-east.

Nevertheless, while Dutch fears were certainly directed towards Germany, resentment was mainly against Britain, in spite of the fact that Holland had shared in the losses at sea due to Nazi mine-sowing. In December, 1939, the resentment against the Contra-ban Control became strong, for the holding up and occasional confiscation of cargoes by the Allies was a serious addition to the economic sufferings of Holland, in her role as the commercial carrier and agent for much of Western Europe. Both Amsterdam and Rotterdam were badly hit, and unemployment among Dutch sailors increased. That these sufferings and irritations did not influence Dutch policy against a complete understanding with Belgium for defence against aggression affords a measure of the country's sound sense of values.

For Belgium it was important to have concordant measures in readiness, since an invasion of parts of Holland (especially Limburg) would seriously affect Belgian defences, which necessarily depended more upon military fortifications and the army. This was the chief factor behind the visit of King Leopold to Queen Wilhelmina early in November, 1939, after their formal and unsuccessful joint peace representations to the belligerents in October. King Leopold had devoted himself to bringing his Flemish and Walloon subjects together in unity on questions of neutrality and national security, and there had been no division of opinion in Belgium in the autumn upon drastic emergency defence measures. Pompous memories of the last war had strengthened the Belgians' determination to preserve neutrality as long as possible, while leaving them no doubt as to the character of the potential enemy. Although, with injured trade and her own share of shipping losses, Belgium could ill afford great expenditure on further defensive measures, she set about strengthening her well-planned fortifications; these had been made on both French and German frontiers, as a gesture of neutrality, but henceforth were to be developed solely on the German side. Her population of slightly less than 9,000,000 was largely industrialized, and supported a relatively strong conscript army, although it totalled only about 88,000 without the reserves.

By the first week of December Belgium had called 650,000 men to the colours, and throughout the previous month military detachments had been working unceasingly, day and night, in shifts through all weathers, completing a fortified line all the way from Antwerp to the south, where the frontier touched Luxemburg. The Belgian military had adopted all the French defence methods against a possible large-scale tank attack followed by motorized divisions. The previous completion of the Albert Canal, reaching from Antwerp to Liége, was an aid to defensive dispositions, as it constituted a defensive line against the weakly held frontier facing Holland; while between Liége and Namur there was the Meuse, with the Ourthe further eastward, to protect the Namur line from an invasion across the German frontier.

HALF LUXEMBURG'S ARMY ON PARADE

In 1914, breaking all her pledges, Germany invaded the neutral Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, seized hostages and stripped the country of food and raw material. Twenty-five years later Luxemburg was faced with prospects of another German invasion, and as her army, a good proportion of which is seen below, numbers only about 250 men, she could not have resisted.

Photo, W. Robertson
and by the course of the first four months of hostilities. The French had extended their fortifications to the south, close to the Swiss border, where a German attempt to invade France by crossing the north-west corner of Switzerland might be made. But, as was the case with the neutral countries on France's western frontier, such precautionary measures did not by any means preclude the possibilities of an onslaught by the huge German war machine, once the Nazi leaders should decide on a break-through. Moreover, a German invasion could be made farther east, near Lake Constance, although the Rhine constituted here a strong defensive line. The Swiss, in spite of their diversity of languages and their small resources, were completely united and had diligently increased their defences on all the possible routes of invasion. This ancient Federal Republic, with a population much less than that of Greater London, instituted a complete conscription of its man-power, and by December, 1939, had a mobilized army of 600,000 men. These were well-trained in defensive warfare, and knew how to use to the utmost the difficulties of the mountainous terrain; they were so well equipped with machine-guns and small automatic guns that the Swiss infantry were said to have the greatest relative fire-power of any army.

It was realized that if the Germans should invade Switzerland near the French frontier, the Swiss defence could be aided by French heavy artillery. An important factor, added to the thoroughgoing preparedness of the Swiss, was the neutrality of Italy, who by threatening the southern frontiers could have seriously divided the Swiss defensive resources. In

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**HOLLAND'S PREMIER**

Johannes W. de Geer (above), Prime Minister and Minister of Finance in the Dutch Government, formed on August 9, 1939. He was Prime Minister from 1926 to 1929, and was three times Minister of Finance.

**Photo, E.N.A.**

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**DUTCH DEFENCE CHIEF**

Major-General J. H. Reinders, former Chief of the Dutch General Staff. Under his direction measures were taken for the bolstering of the inundation zones, to cope with a possible German invasion.

**Photo, Sport d'Élégance**

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Switzerland, from the very beginning of the war, there had been no illusion at all as to the direction from which danger was to be apprehended. No Swiss expected his country's neutrality to be ignored by the French, and the former pro-German elements (which had become pro-Nazi in the preceding few years) received their final disillusionment by the Nazi-Soviet pact and its consequences. The strong anti-Socialist element of French-speaking Switzerland, who feared French Communism and confused it even with the Socialist policy of M. Blum, shared in this change of heart with the German-speaking moneyed classes in the industrial areas around Zürich. They could not but realize, with the lesson before them of the fate of Poland and the subsequent Russian attack on Finland, what would be the lot of Switzerland if ravaged by the German hordes. Relatively the Swiss defensive measures were greater than those of any other neutral, and the economic strain—apart from the demand upon the male population for service—was exceptionally severe.

After something like a scare in October, 1939, which was partially revived in November, the Swiss resumed their state of calm preparedness, conscious of the hindrances they could interpose against a German march through their country. Not that this preparedness did away with the possibility of the disaster occurring, any more
EVEN PEACEFUL SWITZERLAND PREPARES

Above, a machine-gun section of the Swiss Army during the course of Alpine maneuvers. Right, concrete anti-tank defenses erected along the flat portions of the Swiss frontier. The photograph below shows one method by which the Swiss hoped, in case of emergency, to preserve foodstuffs from bombs and contamination. A huge caisson, filled with 210 tons of grain, is being sunk beneath the waters of a lake.

Photos, Mondiale / Planet News
than the Belgian-Dutch defences precluded overwhelming invasion; but it was clearly realized what the effort would mean for the German forces. Indeed, the German High Command was reported to have reckoned on taking forty days to get across Switzerland, if they used five German soldiers for every Swiss, while the French command's estimate was thirty-seven days.

The attitude of Spain in the conflict, though scarcely less important to the Allies in the long run, involved entirely different considerations. Neutrality was enforced on the Franco Government, and was in no danger of being broken by any outside Power. Spain during the latter part of 1939 offered a notable example of how the mistakes of British

Neutral countries suffered equally with the Allies from the indiscriminate sowing of German mines. The upper photograph shows a Dutch fisherman's house in Fries, damaged by a mine which exploded on the coast. Above, a Belgian anti-mine patrol vessel leaving port.

Photograph: British News.

and French foreign policy—mistakes that might have had very serious perils for both—had been cancelled out by the enormity of the Nazi regime. For the Government in Spain, owing its conquest of the country to the assistance of Italy and Germany, had been prepared to be pro-Nazi and pro-Fascist during a conflict, as far as it produced. This meant, among other things, that its courts could unconstitutionally have afforded harbourage and supplies to roaming U-boats, while France's southern frontier would have been useless unless French divisions were diverted to guard it. But, in fact, Spain, the latest convert to the anti-Comintern pact of farcical memory, was entirely disillusioned by the Nazi rapprochement with Soviet Russia and the partition of Poland.

Subsequent developments in the Nazi-Soviet gamble confirmed this attitude, and showed also that Fascist Italy, the main upholder of the Franco regime, had been virtually cast aside by the Nazis in favour of the Soviet. The immediate concrete result of the outbreak of war, as seen by Spanish eyes, was the complete establishment of the naval blockade of Germany, symbolized by the rush of German ships (totalling about 200,000 tons) to be intercepted in Spanish ports. Regular deliveries of coal, minerals and other important commodities to Germany, which had been started to pay for Nazi supplies to the Spanish insurgents during the civil war, came to a sudden end. It may be supposed that the Franco Government, faced with an appalling economic problem at home, did not regret this, or that the future of its neutrality lay in the direction of re-instituting trading agreements with France and Britain. The disappearance of the Popular Front in French politics, under the stress of the national emergency, appears to have been quite unexpected in Spain; but it certainly encouraged the worsted new rulers of that deeply divided country to look towards France for co-operation.

Since Portugal's neutrality, under the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, was not unimportant to the powerful Democracies, and Portugal had plainly benefited in her trade and her external security, the only logical development of Spanish policy, short of any breach with Italy, was towards a similar neutrality, which could do nothing to mean the predatory Nazi Power in the hour of trial.

It was becoming apparent, by December, 1939, that the moment was ripe for some initiative by British economic and cultural interests on the lines of that of the French, who, by November, through Marshal Pétain, the French Government's representative, had done much to counteract the quandam influence of the Germans. The Lycée Français in Madrid had already been re-opened, and from this Leicester and schools began to circulate. The German propaganda service was still active, and in Barcelona a German School offered scholarships for insurgent orphans. Plainly an English College in Madrid was called for, similar to the British Institute in Lisbon. The great amount of reconstruction needed after the devastating civil war made a development of foreign trade urgent, and the Allied countries offered a ready market, for most of Spain's important agricultural and mineral products.
Chapter 44

BRITAIN'S STATESMEN LEADERS IN THE FIRST PERIOD OF THE WAR

The Premier's Efforts for Peace—Winston Churchill Again at the Admiralty—A Change in the War Secretariat—Air Minister—Lord Halifax as Foreign Secretary—The Ministers of Supply and Home Security—Lord Chatfield—W. S. Morrison, and his Namesake of the L.C.C.—Sir John Reith as a Minister—The Ministry of Economic Warfare—Labour Party Leaders

No appreciation of the services of the politicians and administrators who were in charge of Britain's national affairs at the outbreak of the Second Great War could fitly begin without a grateful tribute to the Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain.

Through the years of stress which preceded hostilities he had proved himself to be a great statesman of the modern world. Not for the first time the peace of the British Empire and the liberties of Europe were threatened in the autumn of 1938 by the ambitions of a ruthless dictator. In the past such a threat had been met by diplomatic interchanges between representatives of the governments concerned; if these ploys failed in their object they were followed by the movements of armies, and when these movements reached a certain stage they were very difficult indeed to call a halt.

In September, 1938, Mr. Chamberlain introduced an entirely new element into international relationship when, at the time of the Czechoslovak crisis, he twice visited Herr Hitler in an attempt, by a personal talk, to smooth over difficulties and thus avert a war which then seemed inevitable. That the agreements which he arrived at were cynically repudiated by the German Leader in no way dete nits from the courage of the Premier's action.

Throughout the succeeding year Mr. Chamberlain strove, as few men have striven, for a peaceful solution of the European problem. He did so in the face of constant rebuffs, in negotiations with a government to whom the pledged word had no meaning, in the face of military preparations on the most blatant and provocative scale, with the fate of Czechoslovakia to remind him that no considerations of humanity would preserve Germany's future victims from the same tortures and the same serfdom.

But when the testing moment came, when the national honour demanded that force should be met by force and that a system based on "bad faith, injustice, oppression and persecution" should be destroyed, the Prime Minister emerged as a man calmly confident of the residue of his cause and of its ultimate victory. Who could detect a whisper of vainglory in the solemn words with which he addressed the House on the morning of September 31 [See Historic Documents, No. 3.]

"It is a sad day for all of us. For none is it sadder than for me. Everything that I worked for, everything that I had hoped for, everything that I believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins this morning. There is only one thing left for me and that is to devote what strength and powers I have to forwarding the victory of the cause for which we have to sacrifice so much."

One of the Premier's first acts when war became inevitable was to recall to the Admiralty Winston Churchill. This stirred the public imagination much as did the recall of Lord Kitchener in 1914. Mr. A. G. Gardiner has aptly described Churchill's career as a "breathless gallop through life," and it was fitting that he should ride triumphantly back to the post which he had filled so brilliantly in 1914.

Scion of the noble house of Marlborough, son of Lord Randolph Churchill, one of the most dazzling politicians of the Victorian era, Churchill (like Gort) was educated at Harrow and Sandhurst. He saw service as a soldier or war correspondent in the Sudan, in Cuba during the Spanish-American War, and in South Africa during the Boer War. A thrilling escape from captivity while acting as newspaper correspondent brought his name prominently before the public. He became a lieutenant in a light horse regiment and saw a good deal of fighting, but the war being over, decided, as he said, to have "a shot at politics."

In 1900 he entered the House as M.P. for Oldham.

Leaving the Conservative Party, he was returned as a Liberal (N.W. Manchester) in 1906, and began almost at once that meteoric career during which he was to fill more government offices than any other British statesman. He began as Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Successively through the years he became President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary, and First Lord of the Admiralty (in 1911). In 1915, following a disagreement with Lord Fisher, Churchill was relegated to the Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, and he thereupon resigned to command a battalion in France. Under Lloyd George he became Minister of Munitions (1917) and Secretary of State for War (1919), and under Stanley Baldwin he was appointed Colonial Secretary (1921) and Chancellor of the Exchequer (1924-29).

As an example of the human touch that Churchill never failed to apply to any job he undertook, there is a story of his days as Chancellor of the Exchequer. A widow who had brought up
Winston Churchill's record at the Admiralty in the last war is well enough known. His adventure at Antwerp, the leading over of a handful of Marines and ill-equipped volunteers to lift the German siege, has been ridiculed, but it had a very desirable effect in staving off the main German advance for some days and contributing to the situation which led to the turn of the tide at the Marne. The Gallipoli campaign was a brilliant conception, and might have been a decisive factor in the war had it been backed up in time by the political and military chiefs. But there is nothing to detract from one result of his labours at the Admiralty—the efficiency and readiness of the Fleet in 1914.

For ten years before the outbreak of the present war Winston Churchill had been in political exile. He employed his time in writing works (such as his Life of the Duke of Marlborough and his “World Crisis”) which are assured of immortality. In opposition he was a ruthless, but never a captious, critic. Latterly there was one thing he harped upon with all the powerful urgency at his command, and that was the ever-growing menace of Nazidom to the peace of Europe. He it was who first drew attention to the rapid and open rearmament of the Germans and prophesied the ruthlessness of their intentions. Little wonder that he became their Enemy No. 1.

There was a growing resentment among the British people in the last years before 1939 that his great talents were not employed by the Government, and an immense sense of relief was felt when it was announced that he was to return after 25 years to the chair at the Admiralty. Churchill had lost none of his youthful resilience of mind, but had increasingly fortified it from the vast store of his experience. Through his broadcasts and his parliamentary announcements the public were soon to know that he had lost nothing also of his pugnacity. In the same character sketch mentioned above, A. G. Gardiner said: “His genius is at its highest in a world of turmoil. His spirit rises with the tempest and all his faculties of vision, imagination and action are at the highest stretch.” Those early speeches, with their touch of braggadocio, their wealth of detail, their note of defiance, and contempt of a corrupt enemy, were of incalculable value in raising the spirits of a people perplexed at the protracted inaction of the war on land.

At the outbreak of war Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha had held the post of Secretary of State for War since 1937. His resignation on January 5, 1940, and the appointment of Mr. Oliver Stanley, caused a political sensation. Hore-Belisha was offered the Presidency of the Board of Trade, but he refused, and it was accepted by Sir Andrew Duncan. Mr. Hore-Belisha's disappearance from Whitehall came as a considerable shock.

two sons on a minute income had been rewarded by their industry and brilliance. One had won his way by scholarships to Oxford, the other to a London hospital as a medical student. Both these stages in a career are normally costly, and a minor income-tax official questioned the mother as to how on her returned income she could possibly afford the expense. The lady was so indignant at her word being questioned that she wrote a letter of complaint to the Treasury. She was asked to call, was ushered into the Chancellor's room, where she received his apologies and an assurance that the impertinent official had been severely dealt with.
ALLIED AND AXIS AIR FORCE MARKINGS

In pp. 926, 1125, 1230 and 1724 are illustrated various emblems of individual machines and squadrons of the belligerent air forces; here are shown the distinctive national markings displayed by the Powers engaged on either side. It will be noted that in most instances the markings on wing, fuselage and rudder are different in design though similar in colour. The Chinese colours were used by the American Volunteer Group which distinguished itself in the Burmese campaign of 1942.

Specially drawn for THE SECOND GREAT WAR by E. C. Mason.

(For operational purposes the central red disk in the U.S.A. marking was removed in 1942.)

Wing and Fuselage

Rudder

UNITED STATES

GERMANY

RUSSIA

FREE FRANCE

Netherlands East Indies

POLAND

SOUTH AFRICA
The offensive sweeps in daylight over the Channel and Occupied France, which began in June 1941, were a departure from the conventional role of the fighter, which is normally a defensive one. In a broader sense the sweeps were still part of Britain's defensive operations, since they destroyed aerodromes and aircraft that would be employed in raids on our own cities and airfields. From June 14 the sweeps were continued throughout the month, and another series began on July 1 and went on until the 26th, with only six days' respite. This fine photograph shows a formation of Hurricanes heading out for a Channel sweep. As a fighter the Hurricane is armed with 12 machine-guns or with four cannon. Later in the year came the news that Hurricanes had been fitted with bomb racks and were being employed as low-level surprise bombers—a remarkable innovation for this versatile aircraft, which first went into service as long ago as 1939.

From a direct colour photograph by Fox Photos
As a long-range bomber the Vickers-Armstrong Wellington proved itself in many operations in widely varying climates. The bombers seen here are setting out for a daylight raid over Germany; the first of these extensive operations by day was carried out on April 22, 1941. Wellingtons made successful night attacks on objectives in Northern Italy, while on other occasions our squadrons bombed Berlin and Hamburg, with a great many other targets of the Nazi war industry. Formations were sent to reinforce our bomber forces in the Middle East, and operated with much credit over the Western Desert of Libya. A twin-engined aircraft, the Wellington is built on the geodetic principle of construction, in which the skin of the framework is made up of a great many members crossing each other spirally—imparting enormous strength and saving weight. The speed is 265 m.p.h. or more. There are power-operated gun turrets in nose and tail.

From a direct colour photograph by Fox Photos.
SERVICE POLICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS


Specially photographed for THE SECOND GREAT WAR.
to the public—of all Ministers he was perhaps best known generally to the people, who had come to regard him as a man of energy and initiative who did not shrink from unconventional methods and drastic reforms.

His first step in the Government had been as Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, and from 1934 to 1937 he was Minister of Transport. His drive and imagination were at once directed towards reducing the appalling casualties of the roads, and his beacons and road lights will remain his monument. In 1937 he became Secretary of State for War, an appointment much criticized at the time but which he was fully to justify. Under his leadership the reorganization of the Army proceeded rapidly. Mechanization was completed and many essential reforms introduced. These did not consist solely of new drill, more practical uniforms, improvements in conditions and rates of pay, but comprised the infusion of a new spirit through which much unnecessary red tape and petty discipline were abolished.

Under his rule at the War Office, in April, 1939, conscription was for the first time in Great Britain introduced in peacetime, and his handling of the new Militia was an example of his tact and understanding. At the time of the September crisis of 1938 he was much criticized for the unrestness of the anti-aircraft defences, and it was largely at his instance that a Ministry of Supply was set up.

The appointment of Mr. Oliver Stanley as Secretary of State for War came as almost as great a surprise as the resignation of his predecessor in this office. Although Stanley had filled a number of important ministerial posts

such as Minister of Transport, Minister of Labour, President of the Board of Trade—and had held them with efficiency and rising reputation, his work had attracted little public attention. He was the only surviving son of the Earl of Derby, War Minister appointed in 1916, and the fourth of the illustrious family of Stanley to hold that office.

Mr. Stanley was educated at Eton and Oxford, and served as a major in the R.A.F. during the war of 1914-18; he won the Croix de Guerre and was mentioned in dispatches. Later he was called to the Bar and had represented Westmorland as a Conservative since 1924. A self-effacing politician and a comparatively young man (he was 43 at the time of his appointment), it was generally felt that he would have a hard task to replace the vivid personality and energetic "drive" of his predecessor, Mr. Horatio. Belisha.

Very different in character and appearance, in his origins, and in the circumstances of his career was his colleague at the Air Ministry, Sir Kingsley Wood, who started the rough and tumble of life as an articled clerk in a lawyer's office in Brighton. He did well, became a magistrate, and later set up as a solicitor in London. His first essay in politics was as Conservative member for Woolwich on the London County Council. It was as member for West Woolwich that he entered the House in 1918, and in the same year he was knighted.

He was medically unfit to serve during the war of 1914-18, but did much useful public work. Shortly after his election to Parliament he became Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Health, whose Department during the period of reconstruction was the most important in Whitehall. In the succeeding years he was to become Under-Secretary (to Mr. Neville Chamberlain) and Minister of Health himself in 1935. Before this, on the return of the National Government in 1931, he had been made Postmaster-General. His business abilities showed to their best in this pre-eminently "business" post.

His appointment as Secretary of State for Air was justified by his long record of success in other administrative posts. To this vitally important office he brought his great organizing ability, the tact to smooth out difficulties, the human touch in his relationship with the rank and file, and a driving power invaluable in speeding up production.

"Immediately the war broke out," Sir Kingsley told the House of Commons, "our carefully prepared plans for greatly increased production were put into effect. They will mean, in due course, a rate of production more than twice the considerable figures we have now reached."

In time of war the Government leaders of the fighting forces necessarily claim most of the limelight. Such distinguished figures as Lord Halifax, Foreign Secretary, or Mr. Anthony Eden, appointed Secretary for the Dominions with access to the Cabinet, necessarily withdrew to less spectacular

THREE MEMBERS OF THE WAR CABINET

Below are three prominent members of the British War Cabinet. From left to right: Sir Kingsley Wood, Secretary for Air; Lord Halifax, the Foreign Secretary; and Sir John Simon, Chancellor of the Exchequer. The last-named held Cabinet office during the First Great War, having been Home Secretary from 1915 to 1916.

Photos, Central Press
great war, introducing an income tax of 7s. 6d. in the pound and other burdensome but necessary taxation. Sir John, as a Liberal, was Attorney-General in Mr. Asquith's cabinet in 1914. He was a brilliant K.C., one of the famous trio who were contemporaries at Wadham College, Oxford, the other two being F. E. Smith (Lord Birkenhead) and C. B. Fry, the renowned athlete. Like Winston Churchill, he had in 1939 graduated to the position of elder statesman, a man who had held many Government posts with high credit and who, as Chancellor in a most critical time, commanded universal confidence.

Mr. Leslie Burgin, M.P., the Minister of Supply, had taken up office in April, 1939, many months before the outbreak of war, when the new Ministry had been instituted. His department had got well into its stride by September, and in the first month of hostilities it distributed orders to the value of over £10,000,000. The Rt. Hon. Edward Leslie Burgin had had a distinguished career in the legal profession. The war of 1914-18 found him a solicitor—had he had 1st in First Class Honours of the L.L.B. exam. and in the Final exam. of the Law Society. He served as Intelligence Officer and was awarded the Italian Croce di Guerra. He had represented the Luton Division since 1929, first as Liberal and later as Liberal-Nationalist. Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade from 1932 to 1937, he became then Minister of Transport and Privy Councillor.

Every national crisis demands some infiltration from outside purely political circles. Of this character was the appointment as Minister of Home Security of Sir John Anderson, a man who had proved his immense administrative ability in India and elsewhere. To him fell the task of imposing all those restrictions summed up in the word black-out; the setting up and organization of the various auxiliary services necessary to efficient A.R.P. work. As the months passed without any serious aerial attack Sir John became the object of murmurings of complaint at the disorganization which was being caused to civil life, but he wisely relaxed the vigilance only very gradually, and that only in minor particulars.

At the same time that the Prime Minister accepted the resignation of Mr. Hore-Belisha, he also received that of Lord Macmillan, Minister of Information, and replaced this distinguished Law Lord by Sir John Reith, former head of the B.B.C. Sir John's masterful personality and great administrative powers made this choice an extremely popular one. The young Glasgow engineering apprentice, who had so successfully guided the progress of the B.B.C., had captured the imagination of the public, who regarded Sir John as eminently fitted to surmount the difficulties of a much criticized department.

CO-ORDINATOR OF DEFENCE

Admiral of the Fleet Lord Chatfield (above) served in the war of 1914-18 as Flag-Captain to Admiral Beatty. He joined the Cabinet in 1939 as Minister for the Co-ordination of Defence.

Viscount Halifax

 tasks. A reshuffle might bring them forward again, but in the meantime their great past services could not be forgotten.

Lord Halifax, who as Mr. Edward Wood became member for Ripon and Under-Secretary for the Colonies, was a son of that picturesque old Viscount who in his time was lawyer leader of the Church of England. Before his father died he was created Baron Irwin and sent to India as Viceroy at the age of 40. He met the movement of Hindú Civil Disobedience with tact and courage and gained the confidence of the leader Gandhi. His later parliamentary career found him President of the Board of Education, Lord Privy Seal and, on the resignation of Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary. He has been described as "the heavy weight in the Cabinet," and a more than probable successor to the Premiership had he not sat in the House of Lords. His handling of the events which led to the declaration of war is now public property in the pages of the British Blue Book. While leaving no stone unturned to avert the fate of Poland and seek peace by negotiation, he never disguised or left uncertain Britain's determination to honour her guarantees by forces of arms.

Sir John Simon, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, grappled immediately with the formidable task of financing another

MINISTERS OF INFORMATION

Sir John Reith (right), Chairman of British Overseas Airways Corporation and formerly Director-General of the British Broadcasting Corporation from 1927 to 1930, was appointed Minister of Information on January 5, 1940, following the resignation of Lord Macmillan (left).
Another appointment from outside which was exceedingly popular was that of Admiral Lord Chatfield to be Minister for Co-ordination of Defence. His last official post had been as First Sea Lord. He was 65 when he was appointed, looked ten years younger, a man who kept himself fit and was still sufficiently alert in mind and body to tackle a big job. It was to him, when acting as Flag-Captain to Beatty at the battle of Jutland, that Beatty had made his famous remark: "What's the matter with our damned ships, Chatfield?"

Two leaders of the same name held two jobs which vitally affected the private lives of millions of people. They were Mr. W. S. Morrison, Minister of Food (and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster), and Mr. Herbert Stanley Morrison, leader of the London County Council and Chairman of the London A.R.P. Mr. W. S. Morrison had long been recognized as one of the ablest of the junior ministers, and it was fitting that he should be given the difficult and complicated task of conserving the nation's food supplies and rationing the consumer. The work was not carried through without some dislocation and some temporary injustices, but Mr. Morrison rode the tempest and quickly reduced chaos to order. As a preliminary step a National Register was taken. This was directed by a permanent civil servant, Sir Sylvanus Vivian, Registrar-General, as was also the issue of identity cards. Sir Sylvanus did invaluable work in the First Great War in the Ministry of Food and the Ministry of National Service.

The manifold activities and great responsibilities of Mr. H. S. Morrison as leader of the L.C.C. need not be detailed.

In the organization of the evacuation of mothers and children and the speeding up of air-raid precautions, he did work of inestimable importance.

Two other wartime appointments deserve mention, that of Sir John Gilmour as Minister of Shipping, which was greeted by some murmurs of dissent on account of lack of experience, and Mr. Ronald Hibbert Cross as Minister of Economic Warfare. Sir John had held the offices of Minister of Agriculture and Home Secretary and was recognized as an able Chairman of Committees. Mr. Cross, who had been a Government Whip and Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade, had a familiarity with economic problems gained as a merchant banker.

Another appointment made in the reconstructed Ministry of January, 1940, was that of Sir Andrew Duncan to the Presidency of the Board of Trade, a department whose responsibilities had increased enormously owing to the war. Sir Andrew had held many high posts in industry, including that of Chairman of the Central Electricity Board, and he was a Director of the Bank of England. His experience and ability well fitted him for this essentially business post.

A word must be added with regard to His Majesty's Opposition. At the outbreak of war the leader, Major Attlee, was indisposed and his place taken by Mr. Arthur Greenwood. Leaders

NEW BOARD OF TRADE CHIEF

Sir Andrew Duncan (above), a Member of the Economic Advisory Council and a Director of the Bank of England, took Mr. Oliver Stanley's place as President of the Board of Trade on January 5, 1940, when Mr. Stanley became Secretary of State for War.


Photos: Vfiwuph C Central Press; Nannias.

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FROM RIVER PLATE TO NORTH SEA

In his broadcast of December 18, 1939, which we reproduce below, Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, recounted with pardonable pride some exploits of the Royal Navy during the preceding week on both sides of the world. Chief of these was the battle of the River Plate on December 13, which ended four days later in the ignominious scuttling of the "Graf Spee" at Montevideo Harbour.

The news which has come from Montevideo has been received with thankfulness in our islands and with unconcealed satisfaction throughout the greater part of the world. The battle of the "Graf Spee," which has been for many weeks proving upon the trade of the South Atlantic, has met her doom, and throughout the vast expanse of water the peaceful shipping of all nations may for a spell at least enjoy the freedom of the seas. The German pocket battleship, in spite of her far heavier metal and mounting range, was driven to take refuge in a neutral harbour by the three British cruisers, whose names are on every lip. Once in harbour she had the choice of submitting in the ordinary manner to internment, which would have been unfortunate for her, or of coming out to fight and going down in battle like the "Hmsalp великий," which would have been honourable to her.

She discovered a third alternative. She came out not to fight but to sink herself in the fairway of a neutral State, from whom she had received such shelter and succour as international law prescribed. At that time the pocket battleship "Graf Spee" knew that the British heavy ships "Renown" and "Ark Royal" were 600 miles away, steaming at 14 knots. She awaited her outside the harbour were the two six-inch gun cruisers "Ajax" and "Achilles," which had chased her in, and the eight-inch gun cruiser "Cumberland," which had arrived to take the place of the damaged "Exeter.

Our own loss was not more than a weight. There is no harm now in stating that the "Ajax," in which was Commodore Harwood, now, by His Majesty's pleasure, Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Harwood, K.C.B., had two out of her four turrets knocked out. While the "Exeter" bore up against 40 tons of hits, many of them from shells three times the weight of those she could fire back. Three of her eight-inch guns were smashed, and she sustained nearly 100 casualties, by far the greater part killed.

Nevertheless, the "Exeter" remained outside the harbour of Montevideo, ready, although crippled, to take part in a fresh attack, and she only departed to care for her wounded and injuries when she was relieved by the timely arrival of the "Cumberland."

During Feats of British Submarines

Here at home in the North Sea our British submarines have had the best week I can remember in this or the last war. The exploits of H.M. Submarine "Salmon" last week are remarkably praise-worthy in the highest degree. First she blew to pieces by a volley of torpedoes one of the larger German U-boats which was going out upon a raiding foray. She maintained from torpedoing the "Bremer" when that enormous ship was at her mercy. Her other encounter was the most important point. On Thursday last she observed the German Fleet vessels at one of their rare excursions, and three torpedoes at a cruiser squadron. She hit one 6,000-ton cruiser with one torpedo and the second cruiser of equal size with two. These cruisers may have been able to limp home, but this is by no means certain in the case of one of them. When they have reached home they will be out of action for many a long month. Meanwhile the entire German Fleet abandoned whatever enterprise they had and returned to the bases from which they came.

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TRIBUTE TO LEADERS OF THE ROYAL NAVY

In view of the successes that have been achieved by the Royal Navy in the last few months, it is of some importance to draw the attention of the public to the fact that the present satisfactory position of the naval war is due to the conduct of operations by the First Sea Lord, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound, as well as to the able staff at the Admiralty, of whom Rear-Admiral Phillips is the Deputy Chief. Although the time to time a success is recorded, it must not be forgotten that such successes are not only a result of the work of the Royal Navy, but also of the efforts of the merchant shipping and the other services of the nation. The Royal Navy is not only the most important of the services, but it is also the one that is most closely connected with the life of the nation. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the Royal Navy should be supported and that its efforts should be encouraged.

The Royal Navy has been the most important of the services in the past, and it is likely to be the most important of the services in the future. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the Royal Navy should be supported and that its efforts should be encouraged.

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Chapter 45

VICTORY OF THE RIVER PLATE:
INGLORIOUS END OF THE ‘GRAF SPEE’

"Exeter," "Ajax," and "Achilles" Intercept the "Graf Spee"—H.M.S.
"Exeter" Draws the Fire of the Enemy, while the other Two Light Cruisers
Attack on the Opposite Flank—Battered and Out-manoeuvred, the "Graf
Spee" Breaks Off the Action and Flees into Montevideo—Scuttling of the
German Battleship and Suicide of her Commander—Homecoming of the Victors

On the morning of Wednesday, December 13, 1939, the three
British light cruisers "Achilles" (Captain Parry), "Ajax" (Captain
Woodhouse), and "Exeter" (Captain Bell) were patrolling the waters of the
South Atlantic about the mouth of the River Plate, the squadron being under
the command of Commodore Henry Harwood, who was flying his broad
pennant from the "Ajax."

The morning was one of perfect visibility, and at about 6 a.m. there
was sighted on the horizon a German battleship, which at the time—and, it
seems, throughout the battle which was to follow—was taken to be the "Admiral
Scheer." It was, in fact, her sister ship, the "Admiral Graf Spee," another of
the three 10,000-ton pocket battleships which since the beginning of the
war had been preying on Allied and neutral shipping on the high seas. The
recognition was mutual, and the captain of the "Graf Spee," abandoning certain
precautionary signals on a French steamer, the "Fornosia," accepted battle. He
was not, he admitted afterwards, in the most favourable position to do so. He
was short of fuel owing to the fact that his fuel ship, the "Tacoma," was
 overdue and therefore he could not speed out to sea. Behind him was the
coast. As will be seen, his enemy by brilliant manoeuvring later took full
advantage of his embarrassments.

At the moment, however, the German commander had no thought but to inflict
the greatest possible damage on the British squadron. The
"Exeter" was nearest
at hand, the strongest in gun power of the
three cruisers, and after one or two ineffectual salvos he secured a direct
hit. Another turret he concentrated on the "Ajax," and the "Achilles." Then
began a most unequal duel which was to end with the "Exeter," so crippled
that she was reduced to one gun, withdrawing from the battle. But this was
the prelude to a fight in which the two remaining British light cruisers harried
and attacked their immeasurably more powerful opponent with such skill and
daring that, battered and outmatched, she was forced to seek refuge in the
neutral harbour of Montevideo.

Such, briefly, was the story of the battle of the River Plate, which four
days later was to have its sequel in the ignominious scuttling of the "Graf
Spee" in full view of the Uruguayan coast. "We have to go a long way
back in naval history," said Winston Churchill, "to find any more brilliant
and resolute fighting than that of the "Exeter," "Ajax" and "Achilles."

The circumstances of a naval battle often remain obscure to the strategist
and the historian, but the brilliant action off the River Plate presents no
such difficulties of explanation. The plan was simple, and though its execution
demanded high qualities of manœuvre and endurance, it never showed any
signs of failing in its purpose. It

would be a great mistake to imagine
that this meeting in the South Atlantic had about it much element of surprise.
Commodore Harwood had for a week or more known of the presence of his
powerful enemy in South Atlantic waters. His squadron was lying where it
was in the full expectation that the encounter would take place. His
position was selected and his plan of battle completely familiar to
his three captains.

The "Exeter" was to attack one flank, the "Ajax" and "Achilles" the other.
It is necessary to understand the odds the British cruisers were called upon to
face. The "Exeter" (8,390 tons) had six 8-inch guns; the two smaller ships,
"Ajax" (6,985 tons) and "Achilles" (7,030 tons) each had eight 6-inch guns.
The "Graf Spee," on the other hand, had six 11-inch guns, mounted in
turrets, and eight 6-inch guns. Her broadside weighed half as much again
as the total broadside of the British cruisers, being 4,708 lb. as against the
British 3,136 lb.

Admiral Sir Howard Kelly wrote shortly after the action:

"To engage a pocket battleship with a squadron of this type, was a formidable
undertaking. With a squadron of four of the better-armed cruisers the engagement
would have been a reasonable proposition; yet you would expect to lose two cruisers, and
that the other two would sink the enemy.

Commodore Harwood accepted the risk and his brilliant victory was well deserved."

Commodore Harwood's tactics, Sir
Howard added, "were perfectly adapted
to the situation. The main system of
fire control in all ships being fitted to
group each enemy with full force, two
or more weaker ships engaging a more
powerful adversary must spread so as
to divide the target. Should the bigger
ship concentrate on the smaller ships
one by one, then those not being
attacked should be able to cause
considerable damage.

So when the smoke of the "Graf
Spee" was sighted at 6.10 on the
morning of December 13, Commodore
Harwood's dispositions were already
made. The enemy came on, attacking
all three ships, but her most deadly

HURRAH FOR HARRWOOD!

After the battle of the River Plate, H.M.S.
"Ajax," flying the flag of Rear Admiral
Harwood, paid a courtesy visit to Montevideo
on January 3, 1939. Admiral Harwood,
who received a K.C.B. after the battle, is
seen above acknowledging the cheers of the
Uruguayan people.

Photo, Wide World
VICTORS OF THE RIVER PLATE

Here are the British cruisers which fought so successful an action against the German battleship "Admiral Graf Spee" off the Uruguayan coast on December 13, 1939. They are, top, H.M.S. "Exeter"; centre, H.M.S. "Achilles"; and bottom, H.M.S. "Ajax." The portraits show: upper left, Captain W. E. Parry of the "Achilles"; and bottom right, Captain C. H. L. Woodhouse of the "Ajax."
concentration in the early stages was against the "Exeter," which came to within 8,000 yards of the "Graf Spee," and though she exchanged shot for shot, came in for a terrible pounding. Eight of the fifteen Royal Marines manning a forward turret were killed outright by one salvo, and havoc was made of the bridge above. The captain was unseated, but men around him fell mortally wounded. One by one her guns were put out of action; her steering gear was damaged, her sides and upper works were riddled, and fires broke out.

Her decks were covered with dead and dying; she was becoming increasingly difficult to handle, but she continued to close in and fight, and not until her last gun had ceased to speak did the "Exeter" withdraw from the battle. But her captain and crew had the satisfaction of knowing that they had inflicted most serious damage on her mighty opponent, who at the same time was being harassed by the "Ajax" and "Achilles"; and when on the evening of December 17 the squadron waited for the "Graf Spee" to renew battle, if she would, the gallant "Exeter" was in her place again, ready to help in intercepting her.

Later, remarkable stories of heroism, fortitude and endurance were revealed. A Marine who had lost one arm and had a leg badly injured went from man to man urging them on; he died soon after, perhaps because his splendid efforts had drained him of the vitality needed for recovery. In the engine-room the stokers and others managed to raise full steam in less than a quarter of the time normally required.

It became known that a curious ruse was adopted to mislead the "Graf Spee" as to the effects of her shell-fire. When the flash of the battle's guns was observed, depth charges were thrown from the "Exeter" in such a manner that the enemy thought his shells were burning some distance from the cruiser, when, in fact, they were registering on or close to the British warship.

Among the wounded was Commander Robert R. Graham, and when the "Exeter" steamed into Plymouth Sound on February 15, 1940, he still carried in his body fifteen pieces of shell. Of the conduct of his crew, he said:

"My lasting impression of the battle is the way the men behaved, particularly the wounded, who were really magnificent. We expected great things of them, but their behaviour was far more wonderful than we could conceive."

We will now follow the fortunes of the "Ajax" and "Achilles." As soon as the German battleship was sighted, they came down on her at full speed, using their much lighter armaments with
great effect. Indeed, so badly damaged was the enemy battleship that it was barely sixteen minutes before she enveloped herself in a series of smoke screens and made for the sanctuary of the River Plate. But the two light cruisers had no intention of letting her go so lightly. All through the day the chase continued, the two cruisers manoeuvring behind their own smoke screens, dashing in to dangerously close quarters and securing hits after hit. So close were they that they could see the effect of their shells and the fires that were caused. They themselves did not escape unscathed. Two turrets of the "Ajax," were put out of action, and the "Achilles" also sustained serious hits.

In little more than an hour it was obvious that the "Graf Spee" had had all the gruelling that she cared for from her tenacious enemies, and desired no more than to be left to pursue her zigzag course under smoke screens to Montevideo harbour. "Ajax" and "Achilles" broke off the close action, went to long range, and watched every movement of the defeated battleship. And so the enemy went like some great wounded beast, snarling defiance at the game terriers who had wounded her, when they again came too near. For when the cruisers came, as she thought, dangerously close during the day, she would let off a salvo at them—but she could never shake them off. The last of these salvoes was fired as the "Graf Spee" was within the River Plate, by this time past nine o'clock in the evening. She was now not far from the harbour of Montevideo itself, from which she was only to emerge to meet her end by scuttling.

An officer of H.M.S. "Ajax," in an account given later to "The Times," said that the "Exeter" was about a mile and a half away from "Ajax," and the "Achilles" was within close range. He thought that the German battleship had spotted the top of the tall masts of the "Exeter," and had assumed that there was only one cruiser to tackle.

"She soon found out, however, that there were three of us," he said, "and upon the simultaneous fire of the "Exeter" and ourselves. But within a few minutes she began to concentrate her main armament on the "Exeter," and with those her firing at first was extremely accurate. Meanwhile, she turned her secondary armament of four 5.9 guns on us, but with those she was not so
GERMAN BATTLESHIP IN LIFE AND DEATH

Above is a photograph of the "Admiral Graf Spee," pride of the German Navy, taken before the war. Now she lies, a battered hulk, in the fairway of Montevideo harbour, where, on December 17, 1939, she was blown up on Hitler's orders rather than face the risks of a naval action. Below, the sad end of this fine ship is exhibited. Clouds of smoke are seen pouring from her as she settles down in shallow water.

Bottom photo, Central Press, exclusive to THE SUNDAY GENTLEMAN.
FUNERAL PALL OF THE "ADMIRAL GRAF SPEE"

So worthy an opponent of the British Navy was Admiral von Spee, who went down with his ship at the Battle of the Falkland Islands in December, 1914, that British sailors felt a touch of sorrow that a ship bearing his name should come to an ignominious end. This column of smoke, 4,000 feet high, was the result of the first explosion of the German battleship "Admiral Graf Spee". It was scuttled in the fairway of Montevideo harbour on December 17, 1939.
VICTORIOUS 'ACHILLES' AT BUENOS AIRES

The British cruiser 'Achilles,' which with the 'Ajax' and 'Exeter' took part in the British victory over the German battleship 'Admiral Graf Spee,' received a great welcome when she paid a visit to Buenos Aires on January 3, 1940.

A huge crowd lined the docks as the cruiser, soon above flying the New Zealand flag as well as the White Ensign, arrived in the harbour. 'Achilles' is a cruiser of the New Zealand Division, and 300 of her crew were New Zealanders.

Photo, Central Press
LADS WHO CAME THROUGH SMILING

This Lordships are glad to welcome H.M.S. Ajax home, and congratulate you on your safe return after two years' service abroad, culminating in the memorable action against the enemy. Such was the text of a message sent by the Board of Admiralty to H.M.S. 'Ajax' on her return to Plymouth on January 31, 1940. Here are some members of her crew, delighted to arrive home at last, photographed just after the ship had berthed.
accurate. Occasionally she turned on us with salvos from the heavy guns, but generally she resorted to the Exeter and it was a regular dog fight. As soon as the Exeter dropped out of the column, the Graf Spee concentrated on us, but with the Achilles we closed in at breakneck speed, a range of 9,000 yards. We fired four torpedoes and the Exeter had previously fired six. The Graf Spee also fired four at us, but all fourteen missed their mark. As soon as the Graf Spee saw our torpedoes she altered course 150 degrees, and that was the last time we saw her.

When the Graf Spee was lying safe in Montevideo, her commander, Captain Langsdorff, made a statement to the Uruguayan authorities in which he disclosed his own experiences and gave his reasons for seeking shelter. He described how he had found himself trapped in a triangle of the British cruisers, and said that even then his only serious worry was lack of fuel. But owing to the surprising rapidity of the manoeuvre of the cruiser squadron he was soon in a very awkward position with shallow water starboard. After his punishment of the Exeter the other cruisers had hit his battleship badly with two broadsides, which damaged the stern and the gun control tower and inflicted heavy casualties. It was then that he made his attempt to escape under a smoke screen, but with inconceivable audacity the British commodore had ordered Ajax and Achilles to close in, which they did by an incredible manœuvre, plunging into the smoke screen and pouring their broadsides into both sides of the Graf Spee. The Exeter remained steady on the north side.

By this manœuvre Captain Langsdorff lost all the advantage of his long range; he was obliged to divide his fire, and it was only his success in securing a hit on the superstructure of the Ajax which gave him a pause to break off the action and take to flight. There is ample evidence that both he and his officers were bewildered by the almost impudent pertinacity of their comparatively puny opponents; and by the cruisers' great speed in manœuvre, which enabled them to dodge backwards and forwards while the battleship was going on at full speed.

We have other accounts, too, of experiences in the German battleship, for Captain Langsdorff held as prisoners the captains and crews of nine British merchant vessels which he had sunk during his career as a raider. Among them were Captain Dove of the Africa Shell, Captain Pottinger of the Ashlea, Captain Stubble of the Doric Star, Captain Brown of the Huntsman, Captain Edwards of the Trevaion, and Captain Robson of the Newton Beech. Their lot was not an enviable one, locked in as they were during the whole day of the battle. However, they kept up their spirits and, as Captain Dove related, every time a shot hit us we all said, Well, hit, sir, that was a good one.

He described how a shell had burst directly over their heads, smashing the deck above them, and splinters of shell had dropped all around them. They could see through splintered glass that the Graf Spee was being chased, for her guns were firing aft and she was steering at full speed in a westerly direction.

About 10 a.m. an officer inquired if they were all right. They said Yes, but they would like some coffee. There was no coffee to be had, however, for the British ships had wiped out the galley, bakery and storerooms. All they could be given was a meal of black bread with lime juice and water, and this, said Captain Dove, was all the German crew had, too, during that arduous day.

At 9 p.m. the alarm gongs went again, and the imprisoned merchant skippers thought that surely must be their end and that now the British would close in and send the Graf Spee to the bottom. Philosophically, they all went to bed and were mostly asleep when the dramatic climax came.

At midnight the door opened and an officer woke us up with the word, Gentlemen, for you the war is over. We are now in Montevideo harbour. And that was that.

One final word: Captain Langsdorff sent his gunner into the mess to congratulate me on my escape, saying When you fight brave men you cannot feel any enmity. You only want to shake hands with them. I for one was proud to shake the wounded hand of such a gallant gentleman.

Langsdorff was in fact only slightly injured, but of his crew 30 were dead and 60 wounded. His ship was badly battered. One observer noted that she had three shell holes on the water line on the starboard quarter, and a huge hole on the port quarter. Her airplanes were completely destroyed, and there was another great hole in her fighting tower. Her decks were covered with debris, and from the water-front her superstructure looked like a mass of twisted iron.

The Exeter also had suffered heavy damage and grievous loss of life, with 61 officers and men killed and 23 wounded. Ajax, which was able to repair her damage at sea, lost seven ratings killed and five wounded.

An interesting account was given by Mr. Archard B. Dixon, a member of the crew of the Tairoa, sunk by the Graf Spee, when five days out from Durban, homeward bound from Brisbane. Mr. Dixon was on his way home from New Zealand to join the Royal Air Force. The following extracts are given from his letter to the Daily Telegraph of February 14, 1940. After the Tairoa had been sunk her crew were taken on board the battleship, and only three wounded men were three days later transferred to the German tanker which refuelled the Graf Spee. Owning to Mr. Dixon being wounded he remained in hospital on board the battleship, and so, on the fateful December 13, he was in the thick of the mêlée. The rest of the story can best be given in his own words:

On the morning of December 13 we were awakened at 5.00 by the alarm bells and tumble of our heavy hammocks.

What's this time, boys? Another poor old merchant ship?

Three long blasts on the sirens. Nothing, something new! We looked at each other with raised eyebrows and listened.

Suddenly there was a tremendous crash. An 11-inch gun was opening fire astern. A pattern! Another crash! A salvo of heavy stuff whistled astern.

It's the British Navy this time, boys!

And so it was. The guns thundered along and soon we heard the Graf Spee began to zigzag. A shudder ran through her as she was hit fore and aft. We realized that we were being engaged by more than one ship, as we were firing on both sides. It was hopeless to worry about being blown up. If a direct hit got the magazine below us we should know nothing whatever about it.

Through three rivet-holes we could see the fires pouring outwards. We had to hold up the ship's rail, the sides of which had caught fire. Through a chink in the sky-light's steel shutter we could see that it was a fine sunny day with cloudless blue sky.

It may occur to English readers to wonder why the sailors were wearing gas masks. It was a routine regulation; they used them for protection from the fumes of explosives. The rumour that gas shells had been used by the British originated because the Germans had sprayed a powerful new disinfectant over the decks and the surges. It had such a strong odour that it even penetrated the steel decks. The German doctor who came on board at Montevideo may have mistaken the odour for the fumes of gas and spread the gas shell rumour, which as soon as it was said was believed.

At 19.10 I was in the bathroom washing and an officer was shaving, when crash! a shell landed on our bulkhead and put the lights out. Shell splinters were sprayed round. The wounded lay dead or slightly wounded one of my mates. During a hush in the afternoon the master-at-arms, whom we had nicknamed Jericho, came in to inspect the damage. He picked up a fragment and said with a grin, Made in England, ja?

At lunch we could not have coffee as the cook's galley had been hit, but weak line
juice was served with the eternal sausage and black bread. It fell quiet during the afternoon and we began to think we had got away from the British ships, but in the evening we opened fire again. They must have done some excellent shooting for the 'Graf Spee' got badly knocked about. In the evening the 'Achilles' and 'Ajax' closed and only by skillfully turning the stem to them did Captain Langsdorff save his ship.

"Another full and we went to bed, thinking we should probably escape the British in the dark, but at 9.45 p.m. our eleven-inch guns fired again. There were three deliberate shots. The last, at 10.15, closed the action. I dropped off to sleep, but at 12.30 was awoken by the ship's vibration as she went astern. In came the Lieutenant-Commander. "Gentlemen," he said, "you are free. We are at Montevideo. It is my turn to be a prisoner!"

The whole world now became tense with interest over the German captain's immediate problem. As Commander's commander of a bewilderingly varied vessel in a neutral port there were three choices before him (if, indeed, he had any personal authority in the matter, which is extremely doubtful)—alternatives which he might ponder during the breathing space which, under international law, he could claim in order to make his ship seaworthy. He could not, of course, claim the time necessary to make her fighting fit again. He was given in fact 72 hours to clear the port, and it was perhaps unfortunate for him that the Uruguayan people were distinctly unsympathetic to the Nazi regime and were not very ready with practical assistance. His choice, therefore, lay between submitting to internment for the duration of the war, coming out to fight the enemy again, or scuttling the ship. He chose the last—or, it was forced upon him—an ignominious course which all the circumstances of his final tragedy show must have been utterly repugnant to him.

This is not the place to discuss why Hitler and his staff gave or acceded to this order, the carrying out of which was followed by a wave of disgust which must have found an echo among the German people. There was some justification for the belief that it showed a weakening of Germany's confidence in final victory. For if that confidence existed, why destroy a valuable ship which would be returned to a victorious Germany after the war was over? As to the decision not to fight again, it will be remembered that, though "Ajax" and "Achilles" had been reinforced by the cruiser "Cumberland," the battle cruiser "Renown" and the aircraft-carrier "Ark Royal" were still 1,000 miles away refuelling at Rio. According to the best-informed naval opinion the "Graf Spee" might have had an excellent chance of escape in the dark.

Broke up, to remain, until finally dynamited, a menace to peaceful shipping. Little wonder that this ignoble end recalled to British minds that which fought against hopeless odds, still in recent memory, of the armed liner "Rawalpindi." Naturally the German representatives made protests. They accused the Uruguayan Government of not allowing the German ship sufficient time to effect her repairs, a charge which the Uruguays quickly and effectively countered. The Germans also launched a campaign of lies which rebounded more severely to their discredit in neutral countries than any which had preceded it.
WHERE BRITISH SHELLS "GOT HOME"

On the left can be seen the results of raking shell-fire from one of the British cruisers on the hull of the "Admiral Graf Spee." Below left the circles mark where British shells tore their way through the steelwork of the control tower. On the right is a gaping rent in the side of the German battleship where a British shell struck.

Photos: Keystone; Sport & General
The gallantry of Commodore Harwood and his captains was speedily recognized. The Commodore was promoted Rear-Admiral and awarded the K.C.B. His three captains were appointed C.B. Not very long afterwards Admiral Sir Henry Harwood, in the "Ajax," paid a courtesy visit to Montevideo, where he and his men were received with the greatest enthusiasm and hospitality. In a broadcast speech the Admiral added one or two details to the earlier account of the battle. He spoke for the first time of the heroism of the pilot and observer of a seaplane on board the "Ajax," who sat calmly in the machine when it was catapulted off the deck while the cruiser was moving at full speed with all the guns firing. This coolness, he said, was truly remark-

Two charges made against their enemies were too crude to need refute. The first was that the British had used mustard gas shells against the "Graf Spee." The British Navy had no mustard gas shells, and even the meagre intelligence must have realized that, in an action in which the chief — indeed, the only —

Gas Lie Disproved the ship and not the personnel, to carry gas shells of any sort would have been a sheer waste of capacity. In any case, the doctor who attended the wounded disproved the story. The other calumny was that the British represented at the funeral of the German victims had spat on the graves and otherwise disdained them. This foul lie raised the most violent indignation in Montevideo, whose people had witnessed the reverent attendance of the British captains at the graveside and the German commander's grateful thanks of acknowledgement of their presence.

In Germany itself the battle was first hailed as a great victory. The Germans were told that England's sea route to South America had been destroyed and that a British convoy had been defeated. The presence of the "Graf Spee" in Montevideo harbor was explained by the silly lie that mustard gas had contaminated the provisions, which had to be replaced. For

some days the Germans were allowed to celebrate their triumph. Then came the bare announcement of the sinking, which must have come as an anticlimax so rude and abrupt that even that docile people must have entertained doubts about the accuracy of their earlier information.

Captain Langsdorff had saved the lives of some 1,000 of his crew, who must now submit to internment for the remainder of the war. His supply ship, the "Tucumá," was also treated as a vessel of war and interned. But for him life had finished. He very deliberately set about making his last dispositions. On the afternoon of December 19, five days after the action, he spent three hours in consultation with his staff officers. He wrote his last letters and dispatches, and gave away his more valuable personal effects. On the following morning he was found dead in his quarters, shot by his own hand. What was passing in this unfortunate man's mind can only be conjectured, but there seems little doubt that his decision to share the fate of his ship arose from the deep chagrin which he felt in not having been allowed to fight to a finish. There were whispers that his crew were mutinous. This may or may not have been serious, but his friends on the spot asserted that it was Langsdorff's resentment against the ignoble order which he had received from Berlin that led him to his fatal decision.

HE WOULD NOT SURVIVE HIS SHIP

On the right is Captain Hans Langsdorff, commander of the "Admiral Graf Spee," who paid tribute to the "inconceivable audacity" of the British cruisers which attacked him. The German battleship was scuttled by Hitler's order on December 17, 1939, and three days later Captain Langsdorff, unwilling to survive his ship, committed suicide. Below, members of the German colony at Buenos Aires are seen giving the Nazi salute at his funeral.

Photograph, Planet News ; Keystone

able. When a shell killed a number of the crew of "Achilles," survivors took over the duties of the dead, working among "the human wreckage around " as effectively as before.

When a shell fell in his own sleeping quarters, the survivors picked themselves up and took immediate measures to prevent an explosion of ammunition. Sir Henry paid tribute to Captain Woodhouse and the officers and men of the "Ajax" for the gallant and resolute way in which they fought. He also thanked the Commander-in-Chief and senior officers, "who since the last war have trained us all so that when it came to the test we were able to uphold the glorious traditions of the British Navy."

H.M.S. "Ajax" came into Plymouth early on Wednesday, January 31, 1940.
PRIDE OF THE WEST COUNTRY COMES HOME

Cheering crowds welcomed H.M.S. "Exeter" when she steamed into Plymouth, her home port, on February 15, 1940, and no one cheered more lustily than Mr. Winston Churchill, seen, left, with Admiral Sir N. Dunbar-Nasmith, V.C., C-in-C. of the Western Approaches. The First Lord said: "You have come back with your honours gathered and with your duty done."

Mr. Churchill in a stirring speech said:

"Captain, officers, and men of the "Exeter"—and let me say my words also apply to your comrades in the "Ajax"—we are here today to welcome you home.

"In this sombre dark winter, when apart from the Navy, we have been at war and yet not at war, in these long months when we have had to watch the agony of Poland and now of Finland, the brilliant action of the Plate, in which you took a memorable part, came like a flash of light and colour on the scene, carrying with it encouraging to all who are fighting . . . and the cause of rejoicing to free men and free people . . .

"Officers and men . . . you have come back with our work notably and faithfully accomplished in a worthy cause, with your honours gathered and with your duty done."

She was welcomed by the Commander-in-Chief of the Western Approaches, Admiral Sir Martin Dunbar-Nasmith. The Admiralty telegraphed:

"Their Lordships are glad to welcome H.M.S. "Ajax" home, and congratulate you on your safe return after two years service abroad, culminating in the memorable action against the enemy. They hope that you will soon enjoy a well-earned leave."

An official welcome was given to H.M.S. "Exeter" when she steamed into Plymouth Sound on February 15, 1940, after one of the longest commissions on record—it had begun in December, 1936, and the crew had had only five days' leave in England during all this time. The First Lord was among the first to greet the returning heroes, and with him were Admiral of the Fleet Sir Dudley Pound (First Sea Lord) and Sir John Simon.

ANOTHER BATTLE-HONOUR FOR THE 'AJAX'

To the list of battle-honours won by warships of the British Navy bearing the name "Ajax" is now added another, "The Plate, 1939," in commemoration of the naval action off Montevideo on December 13, 1939.

Photo, Sport & General
GLORIES OF WARSAW BEFORE AND AFTER WAR

Warsaw possessed many magnificent buildings, most of which now lie in ruins, mute evidence of Nazi ruthlessness. Top picture: the Ministry of Finance building as it was and as it is. Left is the famous Staszic Place as it was before the war, seen from Thorwaldsen's statue of Christ. On the right is Staszic Place after the bombardment, showing the wrecked Home Office building.

Photos, Fox; Keystone; S.A.
Chapter 48

POLAND, VICTIM OF NAZI SAVAGERY:
THREE MONTHS OF GERMAN RULE

Nazi Lust for Inflicting Misery—General Sikorski's Revelations—"We Are Masters," Bragged the Germans—How the Reich Dealt With the Newly-Acquired Territories—Horrors of the Resstaat—Albert Forster on the Nazi "Revenge"—Compulsory Labour for the Conquered—Mass Executions

In that "register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind" which we know as History, it is difficult to find pages rivaling in wickedness and horror those which bear the record of the Nazis in Poland in the months immediately following their lightning conquest of September, 1939. To read of the murders and executions, the ejections and transfers of population, the rape and the plunder and the burnings, the violation of every human instinct, the complete and utter disregard for the fundamental decency of civilized life—to read of these things is to be reminded of the worst and darkest ages in mankind's long and laborious struggle upwards from the slime. For the Nazi conquerors there is not, indeed, a shred of excuse, and the mantle which kindly historians have flung over the bloodstained criminals of the past will be denied their shoulders. Professing to be the exponents of a new and better civilization, they drowned an innocent people in blood and converted a peaceful land into a smoking shambles.

Reports of the methods of warfare employed by the Germans in Poland had shocked the whole world, said General Sikorski, Prime Minister of the Polish Government in exile, in a broadcast statement on November 30: never before had an enemy treated a defenceless population with so much ruthlessness, raining down upon cities and villages alike bombs, shells and machine-gun bullets. It might have been expected that as soon as the country was subjugated this lust for inflicting misery would have ceased, but, said the General, the contrary was the case. "Reports that fill us with horror are coming in from all those parts of our country which are now under German occupation, while the military authorities declare phrases about honour, and the administration talk willingly and eloquently about culture, order and justice, the Gestapo and the S.S. detachments are the rulers. Hardly a day passes without collective as well as individual executions being carried out in Warsaw and in the districts of Poznan, Rydziszew, Gdynia, Katowice, and Cracow. Property is being confiscated. Owners with their families are being evicted from their homes, and the entire population is being driven from vast Polish areas. Destruction of human life has become the pastime of savage and bestial hangmen.

"Never before in modern history, even during the darkest wars, have such gloomy events occurred as are now occurring daily in Poland. In all districts of Western Poland leading citizens are being shot and their names whispered throughout the horrified country. During a single day all the professors of the ancient University of Cracow were arrested and deported to Germany. These, however, are only the most glaring instances of acts of violence that are being committed during the incessant and general oppression of millions of people."

At a later date, said the Premier, the Polish Government would issue an official account of the cruelties that had been perpetrated in Poland; but in the meantime they felt it incumbent upon them to make the following solemn declaration: "The soil of Poland under German domination has become the soil of martyrdom. National-Socialist savagery is writing a new and ominous page in the history of German cruelty, which by its slaughter of the helpless surpasses even the darkest memories of the past. The spirit of conquest and robbery which marked the march of Germany throughout centuries in blood and destruction has come to life again and is sowing its seeds of ruin and crime."

In the light of such revelations it was obvious that the Nazis' object in that portion of Poland which was so unfortunate as to fall into their clutches, was the elimination of every element of Polish culture and national feeling. They intended that Poland should never again rise from the dead, as she had triumphed over the grave into which imperialist plotters of the 18th century had thrust her. Where Prussia, Austria and Russia...

CONQUERORS IN COMFORT

The bitter cold which extended over the whole of Europe during the winter of 1939-40 was particularly distressing to the conquered Poles, many of whom were homeless and without sufficient clothing. But these German soldiers at Cracow could smile at the sufferings of the victims of Nazi aggression, for they were well wrapped up in sheepskin coats.

Photo, Keystone
POLES RETURN HOME

After the Polish campaign had ended and another partition had divided the country between Nazis and Russians, many Polish people, like the woman and child above, returned to the homes from which the approach of war had driven them—those, that is, who were fortunate enough to have a home left. But they came back as slaves of another nation.

Photo, International Graphic Press

combined had failed, now the Nazis were resolved to succeed.

In their own country, in the land where their fathers had dwelt for generations, the land for which they had just risked their lives on the battlefield, the Poles were to be henceforth strangers and outcasts; they were to be reduced to the status of slaves. "We are masters," bragged Herr Ulrich, head of the Nazi district administration in Lodz, "as masters we must behave. The Pole is a servant here, and must only serve. Blind obedience and ruthless enforcement of orders must be enforced. No sentiment is permissible and no exceptions, no consideration ever for any particular Pole whom we know and esteem. We must inject a dose of iron into our spinal columns and never admit the idea that Poland may ever rise again. It's hard! Remember what the Poles have done to us and our kinmen, and then you will always find the proper way to treat those who do not belong to us and by your deeds show yourselves worthy of our Fuehner and the great German Reich."

To convince the Poles that their national glory had indeed departed, and departed for ever, the Nazis set about the deliberate destruction of the monuments which national pride and piety had caused to be erected to the memory of the men Poland delighted to honour. Thus the Kosciuszko monument in Liberty Square (now renamed Adolf-Hitler Platz) at Lodz was destroyed; the monument in Cracow commemorating the 500th anniversary of the victory of the forces of Poland and Lithuania over the Teutonic Knights at Grunwald, and the monument of national thanksgiving to Christ the King at Poznan, shared the same fate. President Wilson's statue was removed from the Botanical Gardens in Poznan, and at Gnizno the Nazi iconoclasts smashed the monument of King Boleslaw. The statue of Copernicus, the world-famous Polish astronomer, was to be taken away from Warsaw, for the Nazi triumph had at last settled the long-standing controversy between Polish and German scholars: henceforth Copernicus was German.

Next the Nazis proceeded to tear up the landmarks and redraw the boundary lines of the conquered state.

Nationalities in German and Soviet Occupied Territories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>German Occupation</th>
<th>Soviet Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poles</td>
<td>18,161,000</td>
<td>5,670,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukrainians</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td>4,267,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>1,980,000</td>
<td>1,160,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Russians</td>
<td>7,257,000</td>
<td>70,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germans</td>
<td>767,000</td>
<td>66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanians</td>
<td>82,000</td>
<td>124,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (Russians, Cossacks, etc.)</td>
<td>82,000</td>
<td>124,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the partition agreed upon in the autumn of 1939 of Poland's 330,000 square kilometres the Third Reich appropriated approximately 187,000 square kilometres, while Soviet Russia secured 205,000 square kilometres. The populations of the two areas were estimated to be 21,200,000 and 13,800,000 respectively. Thus, though Russia's share of territory was rather more than half, the population accruing to her was much less. Nevertheless, Stalin's acumen might be vindicated by the fact that the Polish element among his new citizens was

PROPAGANDA HANDSHAKE

As soon as the demarcation line was fixed marking the boundaries of Russian and German Poland, santries were posted along the new frontier. Above, a Nazi and a Soviet frontier guard are seen shaking hands for the benefit of the photographer.

Photo, Planet News
REIGN OF TERROR FOR
WARSAW JEWS

The photographs in this page, smuggled out of Warsaw, show: above, Jews ordered by the Nazis to undertake dangerous demolition work; left, Warsaw Jews pointing out (according to a Berlin paper) to Nazi S.S. men where arms have been hidden in a Polish soldier’s grave; right, an aged Jew being arrested by Nazis; below, Warsaw Jews, labelled with a triangle of yellow cloth, are not allowed to walk on pavements reserved for Aryans.

BACK INTO HITLER'S CLUTCHES

After the partition of Poland the Germans living in the Soviet-occupied territory were transferred to the Reich. Above, a party of these uprooted Germans is crossing the border at Hrubieszow. The left-hand figure on the right is Dr. Seyss-Inquart, Deputy Governor-General of Germany-occupied Poland, photographed at Hrubieszow.

Back into Hitler's Clutches

Outnumbered by the Ukrainians and White Russians, whereas Hitler added to the already considerable alien minorities in the Reich a great mass of potential dissidents.

Early in October Germany set about the redistribution of her newly-acquired territory. The three Polish voivodeships or provinces of Pommerania, Poznania, and Silesia were forthwith incorporated in the Reich as the “Reichsgau” (Reich province) under the names of Westpreussen and Poznan, with their respective capitals at Danzig and Poznan. Polish Silesia was added to the already existing “Gau Schlesien” (German Silesia). Although the Nazi propagandists claimed that the three voivodeships were “arisch,” i.e. German-for-ages, of their population of more than five millions less than 400,000, or only 7 per cent., were Germans according to the 1931 census.

The rest of Nazi-occupied Poland—that is, the central districts—were designated the “Reichstaat,” which was at first assumed to be destined to enjoy “autonomy.” In the course of a few weeks, however, mentions of autonomy became ever fewer, and the Reichstaat was diminished by the cession of Lodz and the surrounding area to the Reichsgau—in effect, the German Reich. At the same time Swaliki, wedged between East Prussia, Lithuania, and the new Soviet frontier, was added to the first (Gau Ostpreussen), and some slight adjustments were made on the old Czechoslovak frontiers. By these additions the Reichsgau gained 17,000 sq. kilometers with a population of 2,110,000.

In the Reichsgau the work of Germanization was soon embarked upon with the utmost vigour. The object of the new rulers was nothing less than the substitution of a German population for that which was established in the land. There could be no question of peaceful infiltration, for the territories which, according to the German press, were to be colonized by 4,000,000 Germans, were just those provinces of Poland which were already most thickly populated, indeed over-populated. It was obvious, therefore, that the German administration, was planning nothing less than the expropriation of the indigenous Polish population, that a great host of Polish peasants and shopkeepers were to be hounded from their homes and sent to (presumably) the Reichstaat, to make room for a collection.
of immigrants drawn from distant corners of the Reich and "brought home" from the Baltic States.

Significant in this connexion was the speech of Albert Forster, the newly-appointed Reichsstatthalter of West Prussia, at a meeting of the German-speaking population in Torun, "Our country," he said, referring to Pomerania, "is beautiful and fertile, but there have been too few of us living in it. Now, that Germans from other countries are flocking here our numbers will increase. We Germans will take revenge for all that Poles have done to us. In a few years' time Polish will no longer be heard in the streets of this town. We shall never repeat our old mistake of being guided by toleration and sentimentality. We shall act ruthlessly." These words could presage nothing less than a vast process of exploitation and extermination of the land-owning and land-occupying classes.

Additional light on the conquerors' intentions was thrown by Dr. Hans Frank, who took up his duties as Governor-General of the Ostland in Cracow on November 11—Poland's Independence Day. At his installation ceremony he gave further proof of his complete lack of tact by descending in the Royal Chamber of the Wawel Castle on the "barbarous persecution" to which, he told the assembled Poles, the Germans in former Poland had been subjected. He concluded his oration with an appeal to the Poles to collaborate with Greater Germany, not forgetting to point out that severe punishment lay in store for those who dared to show a recalcitrant spirit or ventured to engage in any measure of sabotage. "All who oppose our creative work are doomed to perish, but those who help may live quietly and work." It was in this intransigent spirit that he issued his first decree. In all a sharp distinction was drawn between the German section of the population, who were accorded privileges of many kinds, and the native Poles, who were stigmatized as belonging to an inferior and permanently subject race. Henceforth there were to be different laws for the German and Polish inhabitants, and misdeeds which, committed by the one, might be glossed over, if committed by the other would almost certainly be visited with severe penalties. Dual police control was instituted, German citizens being subject only to the German police, while the Polish police were made responsible to the German authorities for maintaining order amongst the Poles.

Another of the Governor-General's decrees introduced compulsory labour for the whole of the Polish population, men and women, between the ages of 17 and 45. "Every able-bodied person must work," it was laid down, so that the Poles should be given an opportunity "not only of learning the blessings of labour, but also of pulling themselves together at last, to carry out what the irresponsible Polish Government failed to do in twenty years of mismanagement."

With so vast a supply of cheap labour available, the Nazi administrators looked forward with every confidence tosecuring from the conquered soil vast quantities of raw materials which would be of the utmost service to the Reich in time of war, and this despite the fact that several hundred thousands of able-bodied Polish peasants, for the most part prisoners of war, had been transported into the interior of Germany to work as serfs on the German farms.

The deeds of the conquerors did not belie their inspiration; never did they fall short of the resolve to "be hard.

Though as far as might be the excesses were hidden from the wider world, news sometimes leaked out, and so the counts in the ever-lengthening indictment of Nazi rule accumulated.

One incident that attracted particular attention was the arrest (referred to in General Sikorski's statement in page 489) of the professors and lecturers of Cracow University on the ground that they left the lecture-hall when a German professor reviled in the most extravagant terms Polish science and Polish scholars. Taken at once to the military barracks, they were eventually deported to Germany and interned in a concentration camp. This act of violence aroused widespread indignation, and the universities of Britain expressed their deep concern for the imprisoned scholars.

"The abrupt and compulsory stoppage of all their researches and their teaching," said the Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, to quote but one of the many messages of sympathy, "would alone be enough to condemn the agents of the stoppage as uncivilized; but the callous personal inhumanity with which it has been carried out shows its perpetrators not merely as uncivilized but as active enemies of civilization."

The treatment of the Cracow professors was mild compared with the fate of thousands of their fellow-countrymen. In the single province of Posen some five thousand persons were reported to have been executed, individually or in the mass—persons of every rank and class and occupation who were found guilty of the unforgivable crime of patriotism. Clergy and workers' leaders, landowners and peasants—all, indeed, who stood out against the brutal
conduct of the Nazis—were rushed before the military tribunals, and after a night in a cell exposed to every form of barbarity, dispatched by the firing-squad. By the end of the year 18,000 of the nation's leaders had paid for their patriotism with their life-blood. Those who were not shot out of hand were marked men, watched day and night by the spies of the Gestapo; some were seized as hostages for the good behaviour of their colleagues or fellow-townsmen.

At Gdynia 300 of the 350 hostages seized when the port was occupied by the Nazis were shot in batches without even the slightest suggestion of a trial. It was reported that before being murdered the doomed men were forced to dig their own graves, and then the executioners of the Gestapo shot them one by one, while the victims-to-be were compelled to look on as the slaughter until their turn came.

More hostages were slain at Szamotuly, a little town in Poznan—five young Poles who had been taken because in a neighbouring village the Nazi flag had been torn down. The men responsible for the "insult" could not be found, so these five were publicly shot on market-day in the market-place. With their last breath they shouted "Long live Poland!" S.S. men finished them off with their revolvers as they lay on the ground, and then several Polish professional men were ordered to place the bodies in a lorry, take them to a spot outside the cemetery, and then dig graves and bury them.

Every effort was made to stamp out Polish culture, Polish literature, science and art, the Polish language—everything that might tend to keep alive the Polish national consciousness. Thus in Lodz, the "Manchester of Poland" as it has been called, the names of the streets were Germanized, the Polish shop signs were taken down, Polish newspapers forbidden to appear, Polish schools abolished, and all educational text-books in Polish withdrawn from the bookshops. In the schools Polish was made an optional subject, taught for one hour a week. It was in Lodz, too, that the discrimination against the Jews—always an important and very influential element in a great commercial city—soon became most marked. Dr. Frank decreed, for instance, that all Jews over 12 must wear an armband carrying the Shield of David (the intertwined triangles) whenever they went out-of-doors; Jews were forbidden to use certain streets with permission from the military commandant, and in others they were forbidden the path and forced to mingle with traffic on the roadway.

**NO ARDUOUS DUTY**

After the conquest of Poland the Nazis took over the public services; above, a Nazi traffic controller on duty in one of the main thoroughfares, which seems devoid of traffic.

Photo, E.N.A.

Before long, however, if Hitler's schemes came to fruition, the Jews would be removed from Lodz and the other towns of Nazi Poland altogether. His plan for the establishment of a Jewish reserve in the province of Lublin, part of the Reseitiat, was set on foot, and by the end of 1939 some 50,000 Jews, mainly from Western Poland, but including a number from Vienna and Prague, had been transferred to Lublin and its neighbourhood—even in peacetime one of the poorest districts of Poland. The newcomers were allowed to take with them few of their goods and no valuables, and the Jews of the area were placed under an obligation to look after their needs. But of the normal population of 250,000, only some 300,000 were Jews, and the remainder, not unnaturally, looked upon the immigrants with disfavour. Particularly in the villages there was keen hostility, and the Jews suffered terribly from privation and were crowded together in the most noisome tenements. Eventually, so it was understood, all the Jews in the Reich were to be removed to the Lublin reserve, thus enabling the Nazi Government to appropriate their property and also to have at their hand in Poland a convenient reservoir of cheap labour.

Well might General Sikorski declare that "this exchange of population is the outcome of inhuman and absurd racial theories, and constitutes revolting cruelty," but it was just one item in the vast catalogue of crimes that Hitler and his Nazis committed in unhappy Poland.
UNRESTRICTED SEA WARFARE: MERCHANT NAVY MEETS THE CHALLENGE


This enemy's campaign against merchant shipping can be divided readily into separate stages. First, there was the initial blow by which it was hoped to devastate and completely to disorganize British shipping and everything which depended upon it. With Germany's submarines out at sea on their war stations long before war broke out, it was hoped that they would be able to deal a death-blow to the armed and defenseless merchant ships homeward bound on their lawful occasions. The speedy organization of convoys and anti-submarine forces by the British soon brought the heavy losses almost to zero. Then, in October, 1939, the second U-boat campaign started, coupled with the operations in the North and South Atlantic of the pocket battleships "Deutschland" and "Admiral Graf Spee."

The third stage of the enemy's campaign opened in November, 1939, and took the form of the unrestricted use of mines. In contradiction of all the commonly accepted principles of international law governing the use of mines in warfare, the Germans sowed them indiscriminately in the normal traffic lanes used by the merchant ships of all nations, Allied and neutral alike.

The rate of shipping losses under neutral flags rose sharply; in fact, the figures for November were more than double those of October, rising from 40,827 tons gross to 97,368 tons gross. British losses, on the other hand, continued the diminishing trend that had started as soon as the convoy system was inaugurated. They declined from 105,455 tons gross in October to 76,773 tons gross in November, the latter figure including the armed merchant cruiser "Rawalpindi," which went down with her colours flying after a one-sided engagement with the "Deutschland" (see Chapter 38). Excluding this ship flying the White Ensign, and the "Northern Rover," a 655-ton trawler converted for naval purposes and lost during the same month, we find that British merchant losses for November amounted to only 59,426 tons gross—about half of the total for October. French losses in the same period declined from 45,273 tons gross to 7,648 tons gross.

The first victim of the mine campaign in November was the Greek cargo vessel "Nicolaos M. Embrinicos," of 5,295 tons gross. She was followed by the Danish passenger liner "Canada" (11,105 tons gross), which sank in shallow water, so that her superstructure remained above the sea and constituted a danger to navigation. It was a feature of the German mines that they could be laid best in shallow channels and many of the larger vessels which were sunk caused navigational danger to other ships.

The crew of the "Canada" were lucky enough to escape with their lives, but others were less fortunate. Thus world opinion was horrified by the tragic loss when the Dutch passenger liner "Simon Bolivar" (8,309 tons gross) fell victim to a mine. More than eighty lives were lost, and the crime was the blacker in that she was bound direct from Holland to the West Indies without any intention on calling at a British port. Two more liners under neutral flags were sunk by mine during November—the Japanese passenger liner "Terukuni Maru" (11,930 tons gross), on November 21, and the Dutch "Sspaarmdag" (8,857 tons gross), six days later. Further particulars of these outrages are given in Chapter 38.

The Germans attempted to justify their warfare against neutral shipping by claiming that every sinking of a neutral vessel was a blow against Britain. This claim was refuted in many cases by the known facts. The "Simon Bolivar" was bound from a neutral port to a neutral destination. So was the Dutch tanker "Siedlitz," 5,133 tons, sunk by a German submarine on November 10 off the west coast of Ireland, after the ship's papers had been examined.

Three other neutral tankers were sunk during November, the largest being the Norwegian "Arne Kjold" (11,019 tons). The other two were victims of the mine campaign—the Swedish "Gustaf E. Reuter" (6,336 tons) and the Norwegian "Reid" (8,183 tons). Of the fifteen neutral ships sunk by enemy action during November six were of more than 8,000 tons and only three were under 4,500 tons.

HEROES OF THE MERCHANT SERVICE

Captain J. H. Farrar (left), master of the unarmed steamer "Baharistan," was attacked by a Nazi submarine. He defied the enemy and the "Baharistan" made her escape. He was awarded the O.B.E. Another recipient of the O.B.E. was Commander E. J. Greyston (right), master of the "Karamata," who also brought his ship to safety when chased by a German submarine.

Though British tonnage lost in November was considerably less than in the previous months, the number of vessels increased from 23 to 28. Total tonnage was less because the individual ships themselves were smaller. Two were colliers and two coasters, mostly under 1,000 tons. Of the vessels coming within the category of liner, one was only of 1,041 tons, while the Ellerman liner "Ionian," though a fine modern ship, was only just over 3,000 tons. The Houlder liner "Royston Grange" (5,144 tons) was a third, while two Brokebank ships brought the number of cargo liners lost up to five. In the first three months of the war the owners of the Brokebank...
vessels had lost more ships in number and tonnage than any other shipowners—a total of five liners of 40,746 tons. In addition, their “Maharaja” (6,690 tons) had the misfortune to be wrecked. Their two war losses in November were the “Mitra” and the “Mangalore,” each of about 8,000 tons, both sunk by mine. The former vessel was struck by a floating mine while she was at anchor.

A serious loss to the Allies was that of the Polish motor liner “Pilsudski,” a fine passenger vessel of 14,294 tons, under charter to the Admiralty. She sank after two explosions while proceeding along the English coast in ballast. All the crew got away in the boats, except the captain and two men, who clung to a raft. All were picked up later by a destroyer and two fishing vessels, but Captain Hamert Stankiewicz, D.S.O., died afterwards from exposure.

British merchant seamen continued to perform feats of daring which earned them distinctions. The Order of the British Empire was awarded to Capt. Farrar of the “Baharistan,” Commander Grayston of the “Karama,” and Capt. White of the “Heronpool,” for evading attacks by enemy submarines. The two former ships were entirely unarmed. The official account of the exploits of the “Baharistan” is as follows:

This ship was not armed. She was suddenly attacked at dead of night by an enemy submarine at very short range not far off shore near the Land’s End. The U-boat fired from ahead of her on her starboard bow, so that to escape she had to turn towards the land. The master could not have been blamed for heaving to and abandoning ship. But he determined at great risk to defy the enemy and at once brought the gun flash astern. The submarine now brought her searchlight to bear, extinguished it, and continued firing. All shots fell very close, but by the bold decision and ready skill of her master “Baharistan” made good her escape and anchored safely in Mount’s Bay to await daylight.

three ships of the same fleet distinguished themselves in actions against submarines, earning rewards for their masters and gunlayers. The “Heronpool” was sunk after a long engagement with a U-boat, but the “Rockpool” succeeded in beating off her antagonist.

The “Stonpool” was armed for defence, and a gunnery duel between weapons of similar calibre ensued when a submarine attacked her. About 15 shots were fired by each participant, and the
MINE WARFARE IN THE NORTH SEA

Above, the crew of a Nazi mineslayer are sowing their deadly weapons; right, a Nazi mine being destroyed by fire from a British warship; below, one of the 'biters' which are attached to the mine-sweeping wires to ensure that the sea is swept from surface to bottom; below right, Danish sailors about to render harmless a mine washed up on the Danish coast.

Photos: Keystone; G.P.U.; Dervin Leigh.
enemy's last shot noted the "Stonepool" above the waterline. She succeeded in getting a shot either home or on near home that the submarine was compelled to give up the fight.

The unrestricted mine campaign of November, 1939, did not find the Royal Navy unprepared. Minesweeping flotillas were fully organized, and had been since the outbreak of war; but with the new campaign in its intensified form, further extensions were made. Numerous trawlers were fitted out for use as minesweepers and for other auxiliary purposes, and these vessels were manned by the men of the Merchant Navy.

Apart from the Royal Navy, the men of the Mercantile Marine owe a debt of gratitude also to the Coastal Command of the R.A.F. Ceaseless patrols are carried out by these seaplanes, on the watch for enemy submarines and mines. During November a strong force of Nazi aircraft made an attempt to destroy a convoy of British ships off the East Coast. R.A.F. machines intercepted them, however, and, with the help of anti-aircraft fire from the ships, succeeded in driving them away. Seven out of twelve Nazi machines failed to return home, but no hits were scored on any ship or British aircraft. "Security patrols" were also organized by the R.A.F., towards the middle of December.

By maintaining routine patrols over the bases from which the enemy seaplanes left on their nocturnal minelaying activities, the R.A.F. made it almost impossible for them to set out.

December saw the end of another menace to British merchant shipping on the high seas, when in a heroic action in the River Plate the cruisers "Exeter," "Ajax" and "Achilles" engaged the pocket battleship "Admiral Graf Spee." (at first thought to have been the "Admiral Scheer") and forced her to seek shelter in Montevideo, where she later scuttled herself rather than face British warships which were lying in wait for her. (A full account of the action is given in Chapter 43.) When the battleship was driven into harbour it was learned that she had sunk several ships reported overdue during the previous two months. These were the cargo vessels "Ashlea," "Trevilian" and "Newton Beech," and the cargo liner "Hunter" (8,196 tons).

In addition, it was confirmed that she had been responsible, early in December, for the sinking of three other vessels, the cargo vessels "Stromeshalt," the Shaw Savill cargo liner "Tairos" (7,983 tons), and the Blue Star liner "Doric Star." The "Doric Star," a refrigerated meat carrier of 10,086 tons, was on her way from New Zealand with a full cargo of frozen meat. When her captor saw that escape was impossible, he determined at all events to prevent the cargo from falling into the hands of the enemy and flooded the engine-room and refrigerated chambers.

In her three months' career as a commerce raider the "Admiral Graf Spee" had sunk a total of nine ships of 50,688 tons. All these sinkings took place in the South Atlantic, with the exception of that of the small tanker "Africa Shell" (706 tons), which the raider caught off the coast of Portuguese East Africa, in ballast.

In December there was a resurgence of British tanker losses. The first month of war had seen the loss of five, of 42,436 tons total. During October and November the only loss was the "Africa Shell." But in December the "San Alberto," "San Calisto" and "Irvingia," total being 24,548 tons, were sunk, two by mine and one by torpedo. In addition, two others, the "Athetemps" and "San Dolina," struck mines but were later salvaged. A courageous attempt was made to salvage the after part of the "San Alberto," which had been torpedoed without warning at 4 a.m. on December 4.

Two more cargo ships were sunk in December, the Royal Mail liner "Navasota" (8,795 tons gross) by submarine, and the Ellerman liner "City of Kobe" (4,373 tons gross) by mines in the North Sea. This brought the total losses sustained in the war by the British during 1939 to 78 ships of 503,310 tons gross.

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**ALLIED AND NEUTRAL SHIPPING LOSSES BY ENEMY ACTION, 1939**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>September</th>
<th>October</th>
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<td>Trawlers, etc.</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
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**ANALYSIS OF NAZI SINKINGS**

The graph on the left shows the tonnage of British and neutral shipping lost, from the outbreak of the war up to the end of December, 1939, by torpedo, mine and the action of Nazi raiders. In the table opposite, the British and neutral shipping losses are shown—the British in respect of the different categories of vessels. It will be noted that the tonnage of neutral shipping sunk amounted to half that of the Allies.
WAR'S RAVAGES IN WARSAW

Nowy Swiat (New World) was, before the war, one of Warsaw's most famous thoroughfares and a fashionable shopping centre. It is seen as it was in these days in the upper photograph, with which the one below offers a sad comparison. Here we see Nowy Swiat after Nazi shells and bombs had done their work. Scattered over the pavement on the right is debris from the Savoy Hotel, the shattered balcony of which used to be a favourite rendezvous for diners.
AN END WITHOUT HONOUR—THE

GRAF SPEE GOES TO HER GRAVE

From the beginning of the war the German Navy suffered an ever-increasing loss of prestige. The Allies showed conclusively that they had mastered the war at sea, and the defeat and destruction of the ‘Admiral Graf Spee’ confirmed the warnings given by German naval experts, and Nazi propagandists.

Photo: ‘The Daily Telegraph’

[Photographs of warships, one showing the battleship 'Graf Spee' on fire and sinking.]

[Caption: 'Photo taken from the 'Achilles' during the action.']

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MAGNIFICENT EFFORT OF BRITAIN'S SHipyards

Faced with savage submarine warfare and air attacks upon our merchant vessels, Britain's shipyards successfully strove to make good the losses incurred. The photograph above shows the keel of a new ship at one of the yards; within a few weeks the ribs will be rapidly taking shape. Below, a cargo vessel, well on the road to completion, is seen. The personnel of the shipyards are well protected from air raids by strong shelters like those in the foreground.
Ellerman group to five vessels of 16,340 tons total. In addition their cargo liners “City of Paris” and “City of Marselles” suffered damage but reached port. The latter casualty occurred early in 1940. No British passenger liners were lost; either in November or December, except the former F. & O. liner “Raswpindi,” which had been converted into an armed merchant cruiser.

After three months of warfare the submarine menace had been reduced to a minimum, and only four British cargo vessels were destroyed by U-Boats during December. Though their successes were negligible, however, the submarine menaced the ruthlessness of their methods. When the “Unknown,” a vessel of 4,483 tons, was attacked in the Bay of Biscay at the end of November she evaded no fewer than three torpedoes by skilful and prompt use of the helm. But she was not to escape, for the submarine then opened fire at a range of about 300 yards. When the crew were taking to their boats the U-Boat continued to fire, using shrapnel. Two men were killed, and the boat was driven by the shell when one of his boat’s falls was pierced by a shell. The radio operator had succeeded in getting an S.O.S message through to a French warship which was then 65 miles away. This vessel came on the scene at full speed, and by a miracle found the boat still afloat and afloat. She threw him a raft and went after the submarine, eventually tracing her and dealing with her. The lifeboat with the remaining 22 men was picked up by an Italian vessel.

Proof was forthcoming in December that German submarines were further injuring the interests of neutral shipping by operating inside territorial waters of neutral countries, were, of course, they were safe from British anti-submarine craft. The Greek steamer “Garoufalia” (4,708 tons) and the British steamers “Thomas Walton” and “Dedford” (4,460 and 4,034 tons respectively) were torpedoed in Norwegian territorial waters during December.

By the middle of December three enemy campaigns against merchant shipping had more or less petered out—submarine attack, mine warfare, and ocean raiding by surface vessels. All these weapons had been countered, and the German High Command decided to call in the use of a much-vaulted weapon, the German Air Force. Aerial attacks on convoyed ships had proved too costly and ineffective owing to the anti-aircraft defence which accompanied such convoys, so the enemy gave vent during the entire month eight trawlers of 1,729 tons total were sunk by this method, although others suffered some damage and casualties. In addition a lucky hit caused the sinking of the modern motor coaster “Sermony” (487 tons), and the Estonian vessel “Uku” (757 tons), flying the flag of Panama, was sunk by bombing from the air.

The skipper of the “Isabella Greig,” one of the trawlers which was sunk, later gave an account of his experiences. After 10 o’clock one Sunday morning two Heinkel bombers suddenly appeared and immediately opened machine-gun fire on the deck of the defenceless trawler. Between 10 and 20 bombs were dropped. While the crew were taking to the boats the aircraft again opened fire and wounded two men, as well as riddling the boat with bullet and causing her to leak. British aircraft then appeared and drove the raiders away, before signalling to another trawler (which also had been attacked) to pick up the boat from the “Isabella Greig.”

The “River Earn” was another trawler which had a gruelling experience. One morning she picked up three exhausted Danish seamen who had been clinging to the raft since their ship, the “Bogo,” had sunk after striking a mine. Later that day the “River Earn” was attacked by an enemy aircraft, which dropped a single bomb and then disappeared. The following morning another German flying boat paid a visit and dropped a single bomb, which also missed its mark: but shortly afterwards two enemy aircraft came along and succeeded in hitting the trawler. The crew and the Danish survivors, thirteen in all, had taken to the boat and had missed a bomb deliberately aimed at them, but they were still 60 miles from the nearest shipping lane. For 36 hours they rowed, the boat so overcrowded that the skipper had to remain standing at the tiller for the whole time, because there was no room for him to sit down. After this feat of endurance, in squalls of hail and winter rain, they were mercifully picked up by a Swedish ship.

The total British losses for December amounted to 39 ships of 106,475 tons gross, of which trawlers, under both Red and White Ensigns, accounted for 17 ships and over 4,000 tons. The figure December was an increase on Figures for November, and the loss of life was undoubtedly heavier, more than 150 merchant seamen losing their lives. Neutral losses showed a slight decrease in tonnage, but an alarming increase in the number of vessels sunk. Numbers increased from 15 to 41 and tonnage decreased from 97,567 to 81,451 tons gross. The majority of the neutral ships sunk were small vessels of under 3,000 tons gross—coasters and short sea traders. The largest individual loss was that of the Dutch passenger liner “Tajandoen,” of 8,159 tons. Norway and Sweden were the heaviest sufferers, each losing over 10,000 tons of merchant shipping. The sole French loss during the month which might be attributed to enemy action was the 325-ton trawler “Dinard.”

The ship which is sunk attracts the attention of the world, but the hundreds of vessels which continue to go about their daily business are apt to be overlooked. The number of casualties may seem large, but it is completely overshadowed by the number of ships which, despite the intensity of the enemy’s efforts, continue to sail over the oceans.
of the world. More than 11,000,000 tons of British shipping were constantly moving over the world’s trade routes at the end of 1939. Many of the vessels which were attacked succeeded in eluding the enemy. A notable example occurred in December, 1939, when the Blue Star liner “Tuscan Star” (11,449 tons) was attacked by enemy aircraft shortly after leaving a British port. Five bombs were dropped and machine-gun fire swept the decks. The second radio officer was seriously wounded, but no direct hits were scored, and the vessel’s anti-aircraft armament forced the enemy to retire. There is evidence of the might of British sea power in the statement that up to the end of 1939 no fewer than 5,911 ships had been escorted in convoys, with the loss of only 12 vessels, or 0.2 per cent of the total tonnage.

By the end of the year 1939, 235 vessels of all flags, totalling 760,064 tons, had been sunk as a result of enemy action. Of this total, neutral nations together had lost 36 ships, amounting to 250,835 tons. The British Merchant Navy lost less than double this amount—127 ships of 443,819 tons total. The rest of the grand total is made up of French and Polish losses, which bring the combined Allied losses to 140 vessels, of 514,219 tons. To these tonnage losses must be added three ships which sank as a result of striking British mines, the Belgian “Alex van Opstal” (5,965 tons), the Norwegian “Hoegh Transporter” (4,914 tons), and the British India liner “Sindia,” 7,745 tons, which sank in the British minefield at Singapore on November 4, with the loss of about twenty lives.

To offset the Allied losses there must be taken into consideration, first, the number of German ships captured by the Allied navies and converted to Allied uses—21 ships of 162,983 tons; secondly, almost the entire Polish mercantile marine, amounting to more than 135,000 tons gross; and, thirdly, the output of Allied shipyards since the beginning of the war. At that date a programme of merchant shipbuilding was in progress, amounting to more than 300 ships of about 1,000,000 tons. The shipyards were working at full pitch, and more than 100,000 tons took the water before the end of October. The Ministry of Shipping, besides ordering new tonnage on Government account, took adequate steps to accelerate the pace of the building programme, and on balances the losses suffered by the merchant navies of the Allied Powers were negligible.

Behind the scenes at the Ministry of Shipping the work went on of organizing the Allied effort which was to bear fruit in later months. Complete control of Allied shipping was set up, to make the best use of the available tonnage by thorough co-operation between Great Britain, France and Poland. Steps were taken to charter neutral tonnage to increase the carrying power available to the Allies; and a comprehensive scheme of control for British shipping was worked out. Up to December 4, 1939, requisitioning by the Government was resorted to only for vessels required by the Defence Services as auxiliary cruisers, minesweepers, troopships, hospital ships, and so on. On that date a limited amount of requisitioning was carried out for commercial purposes, in particular for the transport of cereal cargoes from North America. In the New Year, however, the Government decided to bring the entire Merchant Navy—tramps and liners alike, and excepting only coasters and short sea traders—under direct control by means of wholesale requisitioning.

THE WATCH FROM THE SKIES

The photograph below was taken by one of the crew of an aircraft of the Coastal Command which, having located this neutral vessel mined off the coast of southern France, kept a vigilant watch while the crew were rescued by naval patrols. A lifeboat is seen pulling away from the wreck.

British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright.
THE SEA AFFAIR: NAVAL OPERATIONS DURING THE CLOSING WEEKS OF 1939

At the beginning of 1940, when the war as far as Britain was concerned could only be said to have been in full operation at sea, the Prime Minister briefly reviewed the situation. He was speaking at the Mansion House on January 3, 1940, and referred to the position after four months of war as "not unsatisfactory." He recalled that the oceans of the world had been swept clear of German ships, and that the German fleet (which at the beginning of the war was less than one quarter of the British) had lost by sinking, by capture and by scuttling 250,000 tons. The rest was either bottled up in foreign ports or confined to the Baltic.

The attacks on our Fleets, on the other hand, whether by U-boat, mine or drifter, had produced only meagre results. Subtracting losses from British losses by enemy action or ordinary marine casualties, the gains by captures, by new ships or by transfers from foreign flags, the total British loss to date was 122,000 tons—less than 1 per cent of shipping under the British flag.

Meantime, the Prime Minister added, the inexorable pressure of sea power acting on the enemy was producing ever-increasing difficulties for her whole economy and for her ability to carry on the war. If results were not yet strikingly visible, it was certain that every effort was being made to conceal them and that they were very present in the minds of the German leaders.

Before proceeding to an account of the happenings at sea during the last three weeks of December, 1939, and the early days of the New Year, one or two further figures may be given of the results of the first four months.

British naval losses, it will be recalled, included the battleship "Royal Oak," and the aircraft carrier "Courageous," the destroyers "Duexes," "Gipsy," and "Blanche," the submarine "Oxley," the armed merchant cruiser "Rawalpindi," nine Admiralty tenders, and one drifter.

The German naval losses were the pocket battleship "Admiral Graf Spee" (the full story is told in Chapter 45), the cruiser "Leipzig," and another of the "Köln" class, not fewer than forty submarines, and seven miscellaneous vessels, minelayers, patrol ships and trawlers.

A naval correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" thus worked out the percentages. The "Royal Oak" represented a loss of 6.66 per cent of British capital ship strength, while the "Graf Spee" deprived Germany of 20 per cent. The "Courageous" represented about 14 per cent of British aircraft carrier strength, but Germany possessed no completed ships in this category. The three British destroyers amounted to 1.3 per cent of the total number in service, while the "Oxley" was equal to a little under 2 per cent of the submarine total. German submarine losses amounted to 25 per cent of the number in service; and, assuming that every German submarine under construction at the outbreak of war had been completed, the enemy's submarine losses were approximately 40 per cent.

Meantime, the effectiveness of the convoy system had been proved beyond doubt. Early in January, 1940, an official communiqué recorded that 5,911 ships (British, Allied and neutral) had been conveyed since September 7, and that the total lost by enemy action against convoyed ships was no more than twelve. This represented 0.2 per cent as compared with 0.57 per cent for the total losses in convoy in the war of 1914-18—a very encouraging comparison.

It must be remembered also that some of these ships were sunk by mine and not by submarine. Indeed, the chief feature of the war at sea during this period was the slackening of submarine activity on the part of the enemy. The grave U-boat losses suffered by the Germans had evidently led them to explore new avenues of destruction, chief among them being the bombing and machine-gunning of merchant vessels and unarmored fishing craft. The danger of the magnetic mine had been to some extent countered by the intensive work of the minesweeping flotillas, by the employment of balloon barrage, and by the "security patrols" of the R.A.F., which sought to arrest German minelaying activities by preventing seaplanes from setting out on such errands.

The closing weeks of the year were also memorable for some fine offensive work on the part of the British submarine service, which, observing international law and refraining from sinking the mammoth "Bremen," earned great credit by its attacks on German ships of war. The exploits of the submarines "Salmon" and "Ursula" were extremely heartening, resulting as they did in the sinking of a German cruiser and submarine, and the torpedoing of two other cruisers.

The escape of the 51,731-ton "Bremen," the biggest ship sailing under the Nazi flag, was hailed with great enthusiasm in Germany. She had last been heard of sheltering in the Russian
NAZI VESSEL THAT RAN THE GAUNTLET

The crack North German Lloyd liner "Bremen" left New York on August 30, 1929, and after a nerve-racking voyage reached Murmansk safely on September 9. Left, the crew are seen repainting the "Bremen" a dull gray, during the trip. Right, some of the crew on arrival in Berlin. In the center is Captain Ahrens, the skipper. (See also illustration page 384.)

The Arctic port of Murmansk, and she reached a German harbour (probably Bremerhaven) on December 12.

When the news of her escape was first announced (on December 13), some surprise was expressed that she had not been torpedoed or captured by the British submarine. But the reasons for this were clear. Her escape was not due, as the Germans claimed, to special measures taken to ensure the ship's arrival, or to the employment of aeroplanes which compelled the British submarine to submerge.

In the first place, the liner had a speed of 30 knots, whereas that of the ordinary submarine seldom exceeds 15 knots on the surface. The latter's armament (usually of one gun) would scarcely have been sufficient to have arrested the fast-spedding ship. Supposing that the "Bremen" had submitted to capture, the British captain could not have provided a prize crew large enough to bring her into a British port. In fact—short of letting this great prize go scathless—there was only one course open to the British commander, and that was to torpedo the "Bremen" without warning.

This is with little doubt what the Germans themselves would have done had they had the "Queen Mary" or the "Normandie" at their mercy. But such a course was impossible to an officer of the British Navy, and, moreover, the Allies were fighting to maintain standards of humanity and decency which, quite apart from the prescriptions of international law, forbade the sinking of an unarmed vessel in such circumstances. International agreements previously signed by Germany, but cynically repudiated by her, laid down that no unarmed merchant vessel should be sunk without adequate provision being made for the safety of the crew, a provision which the British submarine obviously could not make.

The submarine in question was H.M.S. "Salmon" (Lieut.-Commander E. O. B. Buckford). Details of the encounter were made public by the Admiralty on December 18. She was on her ordinary patrol duty in the North Sea. Events, said the Admiralty communiqué, moved rapidly from the beginning. The submarine had not long been in her patrol area before she sighted a big type of U-boat. The latter was steering fast on the surface "with all the self-assurance of a newly-painted vessel outward-bound in search of Iron Crosses." The British submarine, manoeuvring to the attack, fired her...
SUBMARINE HEROES HONoured BY THE KING

Two British submarines were prominent in the news during the closing weeks of 1939: the 'Ursula,' sent above arriving home after a daring raid on German warships in the mouth of the R. Elbe, during which she sank an enemy cruiser; and the 'Salmon,' (below), which torpedoed two German cruisers. Left, is Commander G. C. Phillips of the 'Ursula' and right, Commander E. Richford of the 'Salmon,' both of whom received the D.S.O. from the King's hands at Buckingham Palace. Some other members of the submarines' crews who were decorated are seen at the foot of the page.

Photos: Topical/Keystone/L.N.A.
torpedoes a few minutes later. A shattering explosion followed. "Through his periscope," the report added, "the commander of the British submarine saw a blinding flash. This was followed by a deafening explosion, and the wreckage was thrown at least 200 feet in the air."

The routine patrol of "Salmon" proceeded on its normal course for the next few days, till one morning her hydrophones picked up the sound of the engines of a large ship. An investigation at periscope depth revealed this to be the giant "Bremen," had Ltn.-Commander Bickford decided to fire his torpedoes at her, he could not possibly have missed her. Even when German aircraft appeared above him he could still, as he dived, have fired six torpedoes into the liner. But, in the terse words of the Admiralty account, "he did not so decide." He had signalled the "Bremen" to stop instantly, but to this signal the liner had paid no notice. He had ordered his gun to be loaded to fire over her bows, but this second warning was never given, and before the shot could be fired, hostile aeroplanes forced him to dive. Even now he could have sunk the ship with his torpedoes, but—"he did not so decide."

These deadly missiles were reserved for legitimate prey—enemy war vessels.

The "Bremen," steamed on to her wartime sanctuary, the "Salmon" for her part continued the routine patrol. A day passed and the submarine, cruising submerged sighted German battleships, the two battle-cruisers "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau," and one of the pocket battleships with three cruisers in company. The British commander at first thought that he could do no more than report the facts that the enemy was at sea, giving his strength, position, and course, for the German ships were steering so that they would pass a long way from the "Salmon." Of the three cruisers one had been identified as the "Leipzig," the other two as the new

LAST OF A NAZI LUXURY LINER

Adhering to their policy at scuttle rather than surrender, the Nazis sacrificed the 35,000-ton North German Lloyd liner "Columbus" on December 19, 1939. On the last sailors are hastily leaving the burning ship, while below two of the vessel's lifeboats are seen: pulling away from the doomed liner. 579 survivors were picked up by the U.S.S. "Tuscaloosa."

Photos, Keystone.
At the moment of sighting they seemed too distant to be easy prey to the British submarine, but they suddenly altered course and passed within torpedo range. The commander could have fired all six torpedoes at one ship and have made certain of sinking her; instead of this he fired them on slightly different courses, hoping thereby to do more widespread damage.

The "Salmon's" first torpedo hit the "Leipzig." Two more terrible explosions proved that two more torpedoes had hit another cruiser.

**Epic of the "Salmon"**

This was one of the "Blücher" class, but which it was could not at the time be decided, for the "Salmon" was now being harried and had to dive deep to avoid destruction. She steered a zigzag course at depth; for two hours she was hunted and depth-charged, but was never seriously damaged.

Indeed, with superb impudence she returned that night to the scene of her kill and found it an unpleasant place in which to manoeuvre, for four square miles were thickly coated with fuel oil. After ventilating with some clean air, she dived again and made her way to her home port. No one was more surprised than her commander and her crew when they were greeted by the sirens of the ships present. Lt.-Commander Bickford is reported to have said: "I hope that every British submarine will have the same luck as we did."

Little more than a week afterwards royal recognition was given to the gallant officers and crew of H.M. Submarine "Salmon." Lt.-Commander Bickford was promoted Commander and awarded the D.S.O.; three of his officers were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross, and eight other members of the crew received the Distinguished Service Medal, with various promotions.

To make this narrative of naval activity complete we must refer here to the magnificent victory of the River Plate on December 13, 1939, when the German pocket-battleship Admiral Graf Spee was engaged by three British light cruisers ("Achilles," "Ajax" and "Exeter") and, after a fierce battle, was forced to take refuge in Montevideo harbour. She emerged on December 17, but only to scuttle herself in the fairway. Her commander, Captain Langsdorff, took his life a few days after. The full story is given in Chapter 5.

On December 18 the Admiralty stated that H.M. Submarine "Ursula," one of the three smallest submarines in the Service, had sunk a German cruiser of the "Köln" class at the mouth of the Elbe. The "Ursula" had a displacement of 540 tons, compared with that of 1,000 tons for an ocean-going submarine. She had penetrated the dangerous waters of the Heligoland Bight; she had risked the minefields and the ever-vigilant enemy patrol service, and had succeeded in sinking a cruiser, which must have been either the "Köln," the "Königsberg" or the "Karlsruhe," three ships of 6,000 tons completed in 1920. They had a speed of 32 knots, were armed with nine 5.9-in. guns and some smaller guns, had twelve 21-in. torpedo tubes, and carried aircraft.

As was said by a distinguished naval authority at the time ("The Times," December 19, 1939):

"To penetrate right into the Heligoland Bight to the mouth of the Elbe, where German anti-submarine craft presumably team, to penetrate a destroyer screen and torpedo the ship it protects, and finally to elude the inevitable counterattacks in the shallow waters of the Bight, are remarkable achievements, not surpassed even by an earlier generation of submarine officers in the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmara in 1915. The standard is well maintained."

As far as British submarines were concerned it was "the best week," said Mr. Winston Churchill, "I can ever
remember in this or the last war. Broadcasting on December 19, 1939, the First Lord pointed out what a serious disadvantage British submarines were at in the few targets which were offered to them for attack. As they were not allowed, by the customs of the sea or the conventions to which Great Britain had subscribed, to sink merchant ships without warning or without providing for the safety of their crews, or to wage war on neutral vessels or attack humble fishing boats, their work for the most part lay amongst the minefields and in the strongly defended waters of the Heigoland Bight. "The German warships," said the First Lord, "hardly ever ventured out of port and then only for punitive dashes."

He referred to the very dashing exploit of the "Ursula" in sinking a cruiser surrounded as the latter was by six destroyers. The "Ursula," which took place on the same week that almost on the other side of the globe the pocket battlehip "Graf Spee" met her inglorious end. And then with withering contempt he reminded his listeners:

"The Nazi Navy and Air Forces are venting their wrath for these many blows by redoubling their efforts to sink fishing smacks and drown the fishermen in the North Sea."

Indeed, the story of the war at sea during the last weeks of 1939—apart from the outstanding naval actions which have been described above—is one of the senseless and obstinate cruelty of an enemy who bombed and machine-gunned defenceless fishing smacks. On one day alone (December 17) aerial bombing attacks were made on fourteen merchant and fishing vessels in the North Sea, and in most cases the men on the decks were machine-gunned. Eleven of these vessels were fishing trawlers and four of them were sunk. The skipper of one, the "Craigie Lea," thus described his experiences:

"I never thought that white men would do what those Germans did to us. They gave us no warning before they started to bomb and machine-gun us. We scrambled up out of our bunks and turned round us repeatedly and sprayed the vessel with bullets. The crew were on deck when they made the first attack, and I told my men to take cover immediately. We had an amazing escape."

But not all were so fortunate. In the trawler "Pearl" three men were hit (one seriously, with seven bullet wounds). No content with bombing and sinking the Graniton trawler "Isabella Grey," the Nazi planes again swooped down as the crew were being rescued by another fishing vessel and machine-gunned them. This was an isolated instance of the kind of treatment these luckless fishermen might expect. As the crew of the "Eileen Way" made efforts to lower the lifeboats the attacking aircraft swooped again and again, and the men had to leap for cover no fewer than sixteen times. Happily in this case the bombers were bad marksmen and the ship was not hit; but to avoid the attentions of the machine-gunners, the captain said the crew were jumping in and out of cover like jacks-in-the-box."

All signals from the travelers appealing to the aeroplanes to allow the boats to get away were disregarded, the only reply being more bursts of machinegun fire and more bombs. In their official announcement of this dastardly day's work the Germans talked proudly of their successful attacks on British coastguard vessels and patrol boats.

Another story of German piracy was given by eight survivors of the Royal Mail liner "Navasota," torpedoed on December 5 in the Bay of Biscay. They described the outrage as "mass murder," for the ship was sunk in as raging gale when there was no hope whatever of launching the lifeboats. All the crew could do was to hurl themselves into the sea, cling to the floating wreckage and hope for rescue. Succour came from a "Clan steamer," which braved possible attack from a submarine still operating in the neighbourhood. One "Navasota" survivor had been torpedoed twice in seven days, but all said that they were prepared and eager for further service. The captain was last seen running up the ensign to the masthead.

From such lurid stories of cruel and shameful sea warfare by the enemy it is a relief to turn to one or two accounts of conspicuous gallantry and resource on the part of British officers and men. It will be recalled that during the Nazi raid on the Firth of Forth on October 16 one of the ships attacked was the "Mohawk," her captain, Lt.-Commander Jolly, being one of the many casualties. He was mortally wounded in the stomach, but refused to leave the bridge or allow himself to be attended to: he continued to direct the "Mohawk" for a 35-mile passage home, which lasted 1 hour and 20 minutes. His voice was too weak for his orders to be heard, but these were repeated by his wounded navigating officer. He was repeatedly urged to go down to receive medical attention, but he refused, saying: "Leave me—go and look after the others." Having brought his ship into port, Lt.-Commander Jolly rang off the main engines and immediately collapsed. He died within five hours.

Another thrilling story of the sea was revealed in the attempt of the captain of the London tanker "San Alberto" (7,367 tons) to bring his ship back to port. The tanker was attacked without warning by a German submarine on December 9, 1939. The torpedo explosion cut her in half, and the foremost twisted and sank immediately. Captain and crew took to the boats, but later the captain decided that the after part was not likely to sink, so they returned to what was left of the ship. The engines were started and kept going, "slow astern." Even so, every time the vessel came head to sea great strips of plating were torn away, and the magnificent attempt to take her home had to be abandoned. All through that night and the next day the captain waited. Seas were so heavy that the attempts of a Belgian tanker, the "Alexandra Audra," to take off the crew failed, and it was not till the following morning that a British destroyer effected the rescue. By this time the remnant of the "San Alberto" was sinking by the stern.

The fine work of the R.A.F. Coastal Command and the Fleet Air Arm continued to have its effect day by day, both in normal patrol work and in directing the rescue of U-boat victims. There is a story of how six survivors of the Swedish steamer "Listor" were floating on a ready-made raft when they were spotted by a British aeroplane making for a distant and urgent military objective. This aircraft made the necessary signals to shipping, but before help could arrive a heavy gale had sprung up, driving the raft fast to leeward. Another aeroplane was now on the scene, and wirelessed to a destroyer more than 100 miles away the position in which she had found the raft. When the destroyer got to within 30 miles of the scene, the aircraft intercepted her and by firing flares gave the position of the raft. All six men were rescued.

During the month of December the Germans continued their policy of scuttling their merchant ships rather than submitting to surrender. The most important of these sacrifices was the 32,000-ton North German Lloyd liner "Columbus," sunk 30 miles N. of Cape Henry, Virginia, on December 19. Her captain was aware that two British destroyers were waiting for the liner outside the neutral zone.

The Nazis also continued to claim non-existent victories, such, for instance, as the sinking of a battleship of the "Queen Elizabeth" class. This ship was able to reach harbour for repairs with comparatively few casualties.
AFTER FOUR MONTHS OF WAR: THE POSITION AT THE END OF 1939

Strange Warfare on the Western Front—Intensified Aerial Activity Over the Sea Epic Struggle in Finland: Magnificent Counter-thrusts Against the Invaders—Nazi Threats to the Western Neutrals—Fury Against Britain—German Interests in the Baltic—Riddle of the Balkan Peninsula

As the year which History will ever associate with the opening of the Second Great War drew speedily to its close, the nations involved in the struggle, and the neutral powers shivering uncomfortably on its verge, nervèd themselves for the time of trial and testing that the new year must inevitably bring.

It was a strange war to which 1939 bade its adieu. Still on the Western Front the armies of the principal combatants frowned at each other from their fortified walls. Occasionally there was the crack of a rifle, the burst of a gun, but along most of the two-hundred-mile front, for the greater part of each day and night, there was nothing to break the silence. British and French, separated from the Nazis by a few hundred yards of a No-man's-land in which vast expanses of barbed wire sprawled across the untilled fields, watched and waited for the move that the other might make—the move which should unleash all the caged and muzzled dogs of war. But as yet there was no move of menace.

On the sea and in the air, however, and on land in Finland, war raged and flamed. Thoughts of approaching Christmas were pushed into the background by the glorious news that came from the South Atlantic, news which told of three British cruisers who, throughout a long summer day, chased and harried one of Germany's vaunted pocket battleships and at dusk drove her into the shelter of a neutral port. The battle of the River Plate, the defeat and ignominious end of the "Admiral Graf Spee," captured the attention of the world, and there was not a neutral who did not join in the tribute of admiration for the victors' gallantry, dash, magnificent gunnery and superb seamanship. Only in Germany was there never a whisper of generous appreciation—only blither fabrications, discarded almost as soon as they were uttered, snarls of hate and savage rage. Less than forty-eight hours after the "Graf Spee" had become a burning wreck, a nuisance deliberately planted in the highway of a neutral roadstead, Germany's crack liner "Columbus" was scuttled off the coast of Carolina by her captain's order, to avoid capture by a British warship.

By way of revenge for these disasters, the Nazis developed to a further pitch...
of intensity that new experiment in frightfulness which involved the bombing and machine-gunning of defenseless coastal vessels, principally small merchant ships and fishing craft.

From December 18 onwards hardly a day passed but saw a number of these attacks, carried out by the most modern warplanes, on little vessels which, for the most part, possessed not a single gun where with to put up even the slightest attempt at resistance. Never was the true spirit of Naismith displayed in such horrid clearness as now; never, too, did the simple fisherfolk and travelers of our coastal towns show better advantage than when they refused to be daunted by the murderous attacks from the air, but put out to sea in their little craft with that same dogged courage which has made them known throughout the world.

PROBLEMS THAT FACED THE ALLIES

From its earliest stages the future development of the war proved entirely unpredictable, even to naval and military experts. The sketch-map above shows the five major problems with which the Allies were faced at the beginning of 1940. To none of them could any positive answers be given.

From "The New York Times"

In Finland at the year-end the tide of war was still flowing with the defenders. Contrary to the prophecies of many of the experts, the Finns—despite their numerical weakness and other disadvantages—withstanding the onslaught of the Red Army, and time and again drove back the Soviet legions with heavy loss.

When at the beginning of December the Russians had invaded Finland on eight fronts (as described in Chapter 8) they were able to make some territorial gains, more particularly in the north, in the Petsamo sector, and in the central zone, where it seemed possible that in a short time the "waistline" of Finland would be severed and her communications cut with the outer world from whom assistance might be expected and was, in fact, promised.

Finland's sympathizers were encouraged by the results of the stern battles waged during December; for the present, at least, the Finns held the enemy in check, and soon came the news of victories all along the line. December 21 was Stalin's birthday, and the day was chosen by the commissars of the Kremlin as one to be marked by a great and glorious victory of the Red Army over the Finns. In the result, however, it was the Finns who achieved the triumph—and a splendid triumph.
it was. North of Lake Ladoga, near Tolvojarvi and Aglajarvi, the battle ended in the complete rout of the invaders, whose leading division was wiped out as a military force. Even in the far north, where the Russians could draw on their base at Murmanszk, the Finns pushed them back on Pomeso. Already the Russian casualties in a month of war, against a foe far, much inferior in numbers and equipment, were supposed to be in the neighbourhood of 500,000 men, and the tracks through the forest which was the battlefield were littered with abandoned lorries and incapacitated tanks. Through the Christmas period the Finns continued their magnificent counter-thrust against the Russian invaders, and so successful were they that in some districts the war was carried over the frontier into enemy territory. The Finnish war is, however, the subject of other Chapters; here we are concerned with it only as a detail, and a highly interesting and important detail, in our round's-eye picture of the world of war as 1939 slipped from the calendar.

To complete this picture we must include in our survey not only the countries involved in war, declared or undeclared, but all the states situated on the fringe of the struggle. In modern war it is becoming almost true to say that there are no neutrals: certainly all the neutral states of Europe, from Scandinavia to the Low Countries, from Switzerland to the Balkans, found themselves in an exceedingly uncomfortable and oft-times dangerous situation. Particularly did their position become more precarious and threatened as the immobilization of the armies of the principal belligerents on the Western Front became more certain and seemingly ever more permanent. So immensely strong were the rival "walls" of Maginot and Siegfried that it seemed unlikely that either Germany or the Allies would venture on a frontal attack, and it became increasingly tempting to speculate where the battlefield of the morrow would be found.

At the turn of the year it was widely believed that Germany was contemplating a violation of the neutrality of Holland and Belgium—either or both—with a view to taking the defenders of the Maginot Line in the rear. The proposal might be found a tempting one by Hitler, for an invasion of the Low Countries would be just such a spectacularly dramatic stroke as he had shown himself to love. The German High Command, however, almost certainly found the scheme little to their taste, if only because it involved a

winter campaign. True, if successful, a sudden onslaught on the Low Countries—a "Blitzkrieg" such as had been launched in Poland a few months before—might bring with it gains of the most solid and valuable description, of which aerodromes and submarine bases on the Dutch coast, greatly facilitating the war against Britain, would be amongst the fruit. But on the other side might be advanced not only such intangibles as the effect on world opinion, more particularly on American opinion (for the Dutch strain is still most marked in the social pattern of the U.S.A., and President Roosevelt himself is of Dutch descent); there was the fact that the Dutch army of some 250,000, not counting reserves, might be expected to put up a most spirited and prolonged resistance in a terrain peculiarly ill-suited for the movements of mechanized troops. Some part of eastern Holland would be overrun, no doubt, in the first few hours or in a day or two at most, but then the invaders would be confronted by the Water Line, a vast and formidable system of canals and rivers and low-lying country which by opening the sluices and flood gates could be converted into a strong barrier. In November Holland was definitely threatened, and it is probable that the invasion was averted or postponed at the eleventh hour as a result of the resolute attitude taken up by the Government of Queen Wilhelmina—an attitude greatly strengthened by the support and encouragement that were forthcoming in an uncertain measure from Belgium. King Leopold and his ministers let it be known that Belgium would fight not only if her own territory were attacked but if that of her sister state were violated, and about the same time the little country's readiness to face the ordeal of war was stressed most openly.

In an interview a few days after Christmas Senator Paul Crockaert, President of the Commission of National Defence of the Belgian Senate and a former Minister of Defence, pointed out that never before in her history had Belgium possessed such large an army, for not only had she mobilized 850,000 trained men, provided with the best and most modern of armaments, but she had in reserve several hundred thousand more. For the country's defence, he went on, Belgium could not only rely implicitly on the Dutch, but she had three successive lines, in

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FRENCH VETERANS REVIEWED BY POLISH GENERAL.

When the new Polish Government was constituted in France after the conquest of Poland by Germany and Russia, it installed itself at Tours. Here, General Sikorski, the Polish Premier and Commander of the Polish Army, is saluting the colours of French veterans of 1914-18.

Photo, Kolpatov sk
CHRISTMAS PRESENT FOR THE FUHERER

During his visit to the Siegfried Line at Christmas, 1939, Hitler, "the eagle who swooped on Czechoslovakia and Poland" to defend his frontier from "the enemy" (to quote the Nazi press), received this hand-carved wooden eagle.

Photo, International Graphic Press

which water and other natural defences, such as the mountains of the Ardennes, were skillfully combined with the great fortresses of Liége, Namur, and Antwerp. "If we are attacked we shall put up a fierce resistance," he said, "foot by foot, and this resistance will have more than one surprise in store for the aggressor."

Time and again in those weeks of waiting and suspense Belgium was joined with Holland as the target of the Nazis' threats and objurgations, but never for a moment did the little countries lose their sang-froid in what was fittingly styled the "war of nerves." Even Luxemburg, the tiny principality of 999 square miles to the south of Belgium, managed to maintain her equanimity, although her position in an angle formed by the Maginot Line and the German Westwall exposed her to all the chances and trials of a sudden invasion.

No doubt is their decision to hold their hand—for the time being at least—the Nazi war lords had regard to the defences, actual and possible, of their intended victims; but it may be suspected that their plans were also affected by the realization that south-west of the Belgian frontier was encamped the British Expeditionary Force, which at the beginning of this war, as of the last, might hope to play a decisive part.

On the other hand, then, by invading the Low Countries the Nazis would be able to point a pistol at the head of Britain, to use the phrase coined to suit the circumstances of an earlier age, but against this advantage, great as it might appear to be, should be ranged an additional to Germany's foes of a million well-armed and well-trained men, fighting on their own soil in defence of their own homes and liberties. Again, though, in the event of air war developing in real earnest, London and the ports of Britain would be within easy reach of German bombers based on Walcheren, at the same time an aerial corridor would be opened up to Britain's raiders as they headed their "places for the vital industrial areas of the Reich and the Ruhrland. Apprehensive, perhaps, of the dangers inherent in thus exposing their own most important flank whilst endeavouring to turn that of the enemy, the German High Command did not give the order to march to the armies which for weeks and months past had kicked their heels in the western provinces of the Reich.

Yet if Holland or Belgium was not invaded, it was difficult to see where and how the Germans could come to real grips with that country which by now was widely advertised and generally recognized as the Reich's most dangerous foe—Britain. True, war was proceeding briskly enough at sea, but even to the most bemused member of Hitler's associates it can hardly have seemed probable or possible that the hit-and-run raids on the British coasts and islands and the savage attacks on merchant ships and fishing trawlers could bring the struggle to a speedy and successful conclusion. Britain and France held command of the seas in this war to an even greater degree than in the last, and sooner or later the inexorable hold of the blockade on Germany's imports and exports, and through them, on the economic and social life of all her people, must break down the Reich of Hitler, just as, a quarter of a century before, it brought destruction to the proud fabric of Imperial Germany.

In this stage of the war Hitler was left with the initiative, and the Allies seemed content to let it rest in his hands. The war of nerves went on, and there were obvious attempts—e.g., by troop concentrations along the frontiers—to loud-wink French and British statesmen as to Nazi plans. Also Hitler continued to pour out invective. Not many a day passed without his attacking England and the English. In his New Year message to
DEserted Villages of France in the War Zone

From the very beginning of the war the French towns and villages situated near the German frontier were evacuated by the civilian inhabitants. Our photographs show: top left, soldiers rounding up cattle and sheep in an abandoned village of Lorraine; above, a barricaded street in an evacuated town; left, French soldiers examining evacuees’ identity papers; below, a deserted village in the advanced zone.

Photos, Courtesy of French Embassy, Keystone
Diary of the War

DECEMBER, 1939

December 1, 1939. Soviet ships sank at Tuyukul, in southern Soviet Sea, Finnish communiques claim that all Russian attacks have been repulsed along southeastern frontier and nearly all in Estonia. British ships "Dickson" and "Duffy" and Finnish steamer "Moretus" reported sunk. Norwegian steamer "Reif" reported sunk.

December 2. Finnish Cabinet submits appeal to League of Nations. Reported that former German warships have sunk U-boat off East Coast. British tanker "San Callisto" reported sunk by mines. German liner "Walvisy" scuttled.


December 5. Finnish ships carry out surprise attack on British air base at Marmuse. British steamer "Haftrijk" sunk by mines. British liner "Naswadi" and German steamer "Gates" torpedoes and sunk.


December 10. Russian attack in Finnish "war-torn" area making slow progress. H.M. cruiser "Ray of Hope" mined. Four naval ships reported sunk. Dutch motor-ship "Immeim" and German steamer "Trinity" torpedoes and sunk.


December 18. Finnish submarine "Ursa" sinks German cruiser of Königsberg class. New Soviet attack in Isthmus also on Arctic front.


December 22. Finnish troops retreat in Petsamo region and in Samma sector. Admiralcy orders retreat from near full length of East Coast.


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NAZI LINER LEFT TO HER FATE

Abandoned by her crew, some of whom are in a lifeboat alongside, the Nazi luxury liner 'Columbus' is seen above after having been set on fire by her crew in order to avoid capture by the British destroyer seen in the background. To make doubly sure of the destruction of the liner the crew had opened the seaworks before taking to their boats.

Another photograph of the scuttled 'Columbus' is given in page 508.

Photo: Kepabima
NAVY'S FIRST U-BOAT VICTIM—“COURAGEOUS” GOES TO HER GRAVE

Struck amidships by a torpedo from a German submarine while on patrol on September 27, 1939, the aircraft-carrier H.M.S. "Courageous" sank within a very short time. Here men are seen scrambling down her side into the water, but though the order to abandon ship was given five minutes after the vessel had been struck, the commander, Captain Makrig-Jones, remained on the bridge to the end and went down with his ship.

Photo, Exclusive to THE SECOND GREAT WAR
FINNS EXAMINE USEFUL BOOTY

After the Finnish success at Raatevarra, south-east of Suomussalmi, when the Russian 44th Division was completely routed, an enormous quantity of valuable material fell into Finnish hands. The photograph above, taken by flashlight in the Arctic night, shows Finns examining one of the sixteen quadruple anti-aircraft machine-guns of German manufacture, which they captured.

Photo, Press agency
PRISONERS FROM A ROUTED RUSSIAN DIVISION

After the great Finnish victory around Raate, early in January, 1939, when the Russian 44th Division was almost annihilated, vast numbers of prisoners were taken by the Finns. Some of them are seen above on parade, behind the Finnish lines. By this success and the routing of the Russian 163rd Division in December, 1939, the attackers had removed the threat to Finland's "waistline."

Photo: Typical
Chapter 30

FINLAND'S SECOND MONTH OF WAR: RUSSIANS CHECKED AND TWO DIVISIONS ROUTED

Russian Losses in Costly Frontal Attacks—Fierce Fighting in Taipale Sector—Russians Rout on the Suomussalmi Front—Soviet 44th Division Smashed—How Disaster Overtook the Russian 163rd Division—Arrival of Foreign Volunteers to Aid Finland

Repeated unsuccessful Russian assaults by land in several sectors of the 1,000-mile Finnish-Russian frontier, and the arrival of foreign aid in the form of volunteers and supplies for the sorely pressed Finns, were the outstanding features of the second month of the war in the frozen North. As yet the pattern of Soviet strategy could not be clearly discerned, though it appeared that the Russians aimed at causing a dispersal of Finland's forces by multipoint attacks on the eight main fronts.

As in the first month of hostilities, the Finnish Mannerheim Line remained the backbone of Finland's resistance. Notable Finnish successes were scored on two fronts farther north, but it was against the Mannerheim Line that the Russians directed their most intensive efforts, countered by equally obstinate resistance on the part of the Finns. In the early days of January it was estimated that 300,000 Red Army men, including the crack "Proletarian Brigade," were opposing 100,000 Finns on the Karelian Isthmus.

Alarmed by their continuous reverses in December, the Russians made a jaunt to take the fortified Finnish positions by a frontal attack. The January attack of great intensity on January 2. The story of the previous month repeated itself. The Finns, firing from behind trees, from pill boxes and concealed batteries, played havoc with the enemy. Boulders rolled on to the frozen forest paths made natural tank barriers, against which the Russian mechanical monsters pushed in vain. When, appalled by their losses, the Russians developed night attacks, the Finns also developed counter-methods. They installed batteries of powerful searchlights at convenient points. As the Russians advanced, very often over frozen lakes, the searchlights caught and dazzled them, and Finnish soldiers brought their automatic rifles to their lips and mowed them down. So it was that the lakes of the Karelian Isthmus were covered with the frozen bodies of Red Army men.

On the night of January 3 mysterious explosions on the Russian side of the lakes baffled the Finns. Patrols were sent out to investigate. They brought back the heartening news that the Russians were digging themselves in. Trenches were being blasted in the frozen ground scarcely 300 yards from the Finnish positions in the centre of the isthmus. To many observers it seemed that the Russians were going to wait until spring. The Finns christened the Russian defence the "Molotov Line," and Finnish infantrymen, some of whom had not had a rest since the war began, looked forward to a period of quiet, in which they could reinforce their capacities for a spring offensive.

But this hope was shortlived. It speedily became apparent that the Russians were only reinforcing their centre in order to give them greater freedom of movement on the wings. The eight-fold invasion of Finland was making great demands on the Russian supply organizations. For a week there was unusual quiet on the isthmus, while the Russians completed their defence works, the only diversion being the bombardment of Viipuri, headquarters of the Finnish Karelian Isthmus Command, by Russian eight-inch naval guns.

Then the storm broke. The Seventh Russian Army Corps launched fierce attacks against Taipale, the most easterly sector of the Mannerheim Line, and less intense attacks at other points. The Russians penetrated into the woods around the mouth of the Taipale River. For days there was fierce hand-to-hand fighting, in which both Russians and Finns lost heavily. But the invaders were thrown back.

A breathing spell for the Finns ensued, which the Russians used to bring up more artillery and ammunition. On January 22 the Taipale sector was subjected to the fiercest bombardment of the war. Shells crashed into the Finnish forest positions at the rate of three and four a second. Trees were uprooted. Huge craters appeared and it seemed that no one could live in the inferno.

When, however, the Russians, advancing behind tanks, made another attempt to cross the river, the woods again sprang to life. Shells and dynamite blew huge holes in the ice in the path of the invaders. Karelian Isthmus

Taipale Offensive

The left wing of the Mannerheim Line was intact, and the Russians had lost several thousand men and numerous tanks.
TWO FACTORS WHICH CHECKED THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE

On the left two Finnish soldiers are seen with one of the Finnish Army's new automatic rifles. This weapon, which fires 50 rounds a minute, can be used by one man, and the Finns found it very effective in checking the Russian onslaught. On the right are some of the Finnish tank obstacles in front of the Mannerheim Line; great granite boulders embedded in the earth.

They caused the Russians great losses in tanks.

Photo: Planet News Associated Press

Such continued losses seemed to have enforced a pause on the Red Army Command. The defenders of the Isthmus enjoyed comparative peace for the rest of the month.

It is well to recall here that there are two branches of the Mannerheim Line. One branch, based on the water system of the Vuoksi River, traverses the Karelian Isthmus. The other branch extends from Taipale to Sortavala, thus covering the greater part of the western and northern banks of Lake Ladoga in Finnish territory.

Two avenues were open to the Russians in their attempts to invade southern Finland by land. The first was to penetrate the Mannerheim Line across the Isthmus, attempts which, owing largely to the 20-mile-deep series of Finnish fortifications, had been fruitless. If, however, the Russians could skirt the northern and western banks of Lake Ladoga, they would be able to take the defenders of the Isthmus in the rear, in which case retreat would be their only alternative to annihilation or surrender. The Finns, as related in chapter 41, had not attempted to make a

stand on their frontier with Russia where it meets the north-eastern bank of Lake Ladoga. On this front, the so-called Salmi front, the Finns had retired to prepared positions some 30 miles inside their frontier at the Korinjoja River.

Late in the month of January 1940, the Russians pushed forward past Salmi to the township of Kitela, only 30 miles east of Sortavala, terminus of the Ladoga branch of the Mannerheim Line. The territory here is low-lying and wooded, and the additional advantage for the defenders that many of the islands along the coast are excellent natural strongholds. Especially was this true of the island of Mantuamaa, south of Kitela, which had been fortified by the Finns and had defied repeated efforts at capture.

Russian operations along the northern bank of Lake Ladoga towards Sortavala were continuously hampered by the fire of Finnish guns on Mantuamaari Island. Otherwise the Russian preparations for their push to the west were exceedingly thorough. They used their artillery unsparingly to prepare the infantry advance. In one place near Kitela it is estimated that 15,000 shells fell in an area of one and a half square miles.

The snow was so blackened by the explosive shells that the Finns had to discard the white coats which they had been using as camouflage. Many Finnish machine-gun posts were buried.

The possession of Kitela was vital to the Russians in their effort to turn the Mannerheim Line, and no fewer than two divisions of the Red Army were stated to be employed in this operation. For two days, on January 28 and 29, the battle raged in the snow-torn forests. Meanwhile, the guns of Mantuamaari Island continued to bombard the Russian communications, although the gallant garrison was now in the rear of the Russian invaders, and Finnish ski-soldiers worked their way round the northern flanks of the Russian divisions.

Four tanks, 100 prisoners, and 50 machine-guns fell to the Finns as a result of the fighting, which cost the Russians 800 dead in one day alone.

At the end of two months' fighting the Finnish High Command seemed satisfied with the position in this sector. Although no crushing defeat had been inflicted on the invaders as at Suojärvi in December, the Russians were firmly held in inhospitable country with long supply lines to maintain. At no time had this key to the Ladoga branch of the Mannerheim Line been seriously
WHERE REDS DROPPED BOMBS ON CHRISTMAS DAY

Viljani (Viborg), the important port on the Gulf of Finland, was intensively bombed by Soviet aircraft during the Russo-Finnish war. In the upper photograph is a view of the city as it was in peacetime; in the foreground is the great flour-mill of the S.O.K. Co-operative Society. Below is a photograph of the bombing of Viljani on Christmas Day, 1939. The town was handed over to the Russians on the conclusion of peace in March, 1940.

Photos, L.N.A. / Associated Press
thwarted, in spite of the immense Russian numerical superiority.

From Sviravala as far as Suomussalmi, half-way between Lake Ladoga and the Arctic Ocean, no important military operations occurred in January. The Russians had not yet recovered from their earlier reverse at Sviravala, but there were some indications that the Lakes of Tolv and Gaga, so tragic for the fate of the Red Army, would again feature in the history of hostilities. A Russian sortie in the neighbourhood of these lakes at the end of January was not taken seriously by the Fins, who rightly assumed that it was a Russian move to avert the pressure on their two divisions at Kiteila, some 50 miles to the south-west.

Leaving the Finnish ski patrols watching the Russian invaders on the two next sectors in the north—Linken and Kuurne—we can turn our attention to the third sector, the Suomussalmi front, where Finnish arms in January provided a welcome tonic for the civilians of Finland, suffering so heavily from the Red air terror.

The Finnish operations took place near Raate, a village on the Russo-Finnish frontier, directly south-east of Suomussalmi, and resulted in their greatest victory over the invaders since the war began. The Russian 44th Division of between 15,000 and 18,000 men was smashed in the battle of Raate in the first week of January.

Following as it did the great Finnish victory on the same front in December, the Finnish success at Raate put an end, for some weeks at least to Russia’s attempts to cut Finland’s “waist” at its narrowest point.

Historians may refer to the battle at Lake Kiita, on which Suomussalmi is situated, in December, and that at Raate in early January, as two separate victories. In reality, however, both victories were phases of the same action. The victory of Lake Kiita would have been incomplete without the later victory in the battle of Raate, for the Russian threat to the “waistline” at Suomussalmi would have still remained, although it would have been less menacing.

In their attempts to cut Finland’s “waistline”—an operation which, had it succeeded, would have separated Finland’s northern and southern armies—the Russians made two separate thrusts in the direction of Suomussalmi. Troops of the Russian 47th Army Corps were employed, with Uthta, on the Leningrad-Murmanes railway, as base. Of these troops, the 163rd Soviet Division and s
regiment of the 164th Division used the road from Ullea to the Finnish frontier and then marched in a northerly direction in an effort to round the shores of Lake Kianda and turn south. They hoped thus to approach Suomussalmi from the north. The Russian 44th Division set out at the same time, but the object of this division was to approach Suomussalmi from the south, linking up with the 163rd Division when Suomussalmi had fallen.

The Finns, with only one division on the Suomussalmi front with which to face two Russian divisions, had at all costs to prevent these divisions uniting. Under Colonel Siilasvuori, therefore, they decided to split their forces. One section held up the Russian 44th Division advancing from the south. The other Finnish troops, as was related in Chapter 41 (page 460), fell on the 163rd Division to the north at Lake Kianda after cutting its supply lines, and annihilated it.

Now the whole Finnish force could be combined to settle accounts with the 44th Division.

One of the mysteries of the new disaster which now befell the Russians is, why the commander of the 44th Division did not advance to the relief of the Russian 163rd Division when it was attacked a fortnight earlier. It has been suggested that jealousy existed between the commanders of the Russian divisions, and observers recalled that discord between Russian commanders had led to the great Russian rout by Hindenburg at Tannenberg in the First Great War.

A more probable explanation is that the 44th Division, harassed by the exceedingly mobile and elusive Finns, either over-estimated the forces arrayed against it, or else was unaware of the fate befalling its fellow fighters a few miles to the north. Be that as it may, the commander of the Russian 44th Division sets his troops in motion from Raate in the direction of Suomussalmi when it was too late: to avert disaster to the 163rd Division.

The Finnish tactics were superb. Lake Kianda becomes very narrow at the point where the village of Suomussalmi (Suomu Straits) is situated, and then widens again to the south. A bridge connects the straits. After the destruction of the 163rd Russian Division the Finns permitted some men of the 44th Division to cross this bridge. Then, when the 44th Division had split its forces, one-half to the west of the straits and the other half waiting to cross, Finnish patrols slipped silently up in the night to the bridge and blew it up.
The Russians who had crossed were able neither to advance nor retreat, and at the same time Finnish patrols in the forests began ambushing the Soviet soldiers on both sides of the Straits.

Although the position of the Russians who had crossed the blown-up bridge was hopeless from the start, those who had not crossed had still their communications with their bases. The Finns then carried through another masterly tactical move. For a large part of its length the road from the Russian frontier to Suomussalmi runs parallel to frozen lakes. The Finns built a road on the ice of the lakes, worked to the rear of the Russian troops, and established themselves at the mouths of the Russian supply lines, holding up effectually reinforcements which were being hurried from Uhtua.

The greater part of the Russian Division was encamped in an area not greater than four miles by two and a half miles. Tins of rations were dropped by Soviet airmen over the beleaguered troops, but the airmen could not cope with the immensity of their task. For a whole week the Finnish patrols harassed the Russians, dashing in and machine-gunning them, then disappearing without having been seen. Numb by the bitter Arctic weather and with their supplies exhausted, the Russians were in a desperate situation at the end of seven days. Then the Finns closed in. Disaster became complete. More than 1,000 prisoners were taken, and the enormous Finnish booty included 102 guns, 43 tanks, 10 armoured cars, 26 tractors, 278 motor vehicles and 1,170 horses.

These figures, however, give but a small idea of the Russian losses. One four-mile stretch of road has been described as a vast junk heap, with hardly an inch of track free of dead horses, Russian killed, and abandoned vehicles. More than 7,000 dead were left on the road and in its immediate neighbourhood. Another 10,000 Red solders were wandering aimlessly, facing death by exhaustion or capture in the ice-bound woods. A 30-ton Russian tank, wrecked by fire from captured Russian anti-tank guns, stood amid blood-splattered machine-guns at one point on the road. Behind the tank were hundreds of Russian dead, who had sought to take shelter from the frontal fire of the Finns, but were mown down by flanking fire from the forest.

The Finns paid tribute to the courage of their opponents. For seven hours from 9.30 p.m. on Friday, January 5, when the Finns launched their final attack, firing out of the darkness from behind trees on the Russian columns of men and horses, Russian gunners fired back. They were composed of Ukrainian troops, some of the best of Russian fighters. Piles of empty shell cases beside the Russian guns testified to their desperate courage. Although many of them were half frozen, having slept on the open road night after night, they fought to the end. A Finnish colonel described them as excellent men, most of them well trained, particularly the machine-gunnerns and artillerymen. The difficulties of the Russians were
CURIous EQUIPMENT OF THE RED ARMY

The equipment captured from the Russians during the Finnish war proved to be a curious mixture of modern and obsolete. In transport vehicles especially there were amazing contrasts between old and new. Our photographs show: top left, the pulka, a strange, sledge-like vehicle of the Lapps, used by Soviet troops to draw supplies over the snow; top right, old-fashioned macine-guns among weapons abandoned by Soviet troops; below right, gaping boots of a Russian prisoner, ill-equipped for...
simply but clearly explained by one of the prisoners taken. "Our main trouble," he said, "was that we could not see the Finns, who kept shifting their positions while we had no time to change ours. Our column was packed tight on the road with little or no rearguard mobility. Perhaps we could have done better if we had known how to fight in this country."

Helsinki, suffering from frequent air raids, was overlaid at the news of this third big Finnish success in five weeks of warfare. Bells were rung, flags were flown and complete strangers embraced in the streets in their excitement. The Finnish High Command, however, while not minimizing the importance of their victory, especially as it might affect their chances of resistance on the Salla front north of Suomussalmi, were careful not to over-rate it. The Russians had inexhaustible supplies of men, and while the attempt to cut Finland in two at Suomussalmi had failed temporarily, they envisaged a renewed attempt in the spring.

Russian leadership at the battles of Lake Kiantsi, Raate and Suojarvi had proved itself lacking in skill, but that at Salla, nearly half-way between Suomussalmi and the Arctic Ocean, showed tactics of a higher order. Here the Soviet offensive was directed at Kemijärvi, the railhead at the head of the Gulf of Bothnia. It would have served the same purpose, if successful,
The Finns, using the excellent metallized road from Kemijärvi to the east, attacked the retreating troops relentlessly. Cold was as great an enemy of the Russians as the Finns. Lapland did not escape the cold snap which swept over Europe in the third week of January, and near Salla the temperature fell to 67 degrees below zero.

Swedish pilots helped the Finns for the first time in this sector by bombing the Russian columns.

Nevertheless, the withdrawal of the Russians with a haste that amounted almost to panic was a great disappointment to the Finns. With a little delay on the part of the invaders, the Finns thought they would have annihilated the column and captured its supplies.

As events proved, despite removing the threat to Kemijärvi, the Finnish success was not barren. Hundreds of Russian soldiers were frozen to death at one point. 86 bodies of Red Army men lay sprawled, half-kneeling or propped against tree stumps in grotesque positions—all of them killed by Finnish machine-gun bullets fired from the opposite shore of a lake half a mile away. The sides of the road were dotted with boards, painted red, marking the last resting places of Soviet soldiers. One grave, more elaborate than the others, was inscribed to the memory of Communist soldiers “in their heroic fight against the White Finns” and had the Red Star marked by nailheads driven in the box. Polish coins were found on some of the corpses, indicating that Russian troops from Poland had been employed.

The Finnish advance from Kemijärvi freed territory which had been held by the Russians almost since the beginning of the war. The Russians had evidently intended at first to maintain their advance. The whole thirty-mile stretch of territory from which they retreated was honeycombed with dug-outs and shelters, and many trees had been felled to provide material for shelters and horse-boxes. The fact that the bark had been gnawed from trees by the Russian horses was taken to indicate a shortage of fodder, possibly a contributory cause of the swift retreat.

The Russians finally came to a halt on January 24 and dug themselves in, still on Finnish territory. The effort to outflank and dislodge these troops was made all the harder owing to the good roads and new railway constructed by the Russians from Kandalaksha, on the Murman–Leningrad railway, to the Finnish frontier. Nor is there any doubt that the Red troops on the Salla front were picked men, skilled in forest fighting and led by a cautious general.

Indeed, taking Russian tactics as a
whole, it seemed that the lessons of their earlier disasters were making an impression. A tendency to drop the use of massed formations was noticeable from the Arctic Ocean down to the Karelian Isthmus. In many places the Russians reinforced their raw levies with shock troops, drawn from the OGPU brigades. Thus stiffened, the Russians, especially on the Karelian Isthmus, showed greater inclination to support their tanks.

Russian tanks did not, however, live up to the expectations engendered by Soviet propaganda abroad. The models used were chiefly out of date, the Russians manufacturing Christie, Vickers, Renault and Ford models under licence. Especially disappointing were the giant 33-ton tanks, several of which were captured by the Finns. This tank carried a three-inch gun and two 14-inch guns in addition to machine-guns.

Russian casualties on the battlefronts after two months of warfare were estimated at 150,000 against Finnish casualties of 10,000, of whom 2,500 were killed and 2,000 severely wounded. Finnish patrol activities behind the Russian lines had their Red Army counterpart in the dropping of parachutists at various points. These parachutists landed by night in remote parts of Finland, and at one time caused the Finnish High Command serious concern. In no case, however, did it seem that such patrols could radically affect the course of hostilities, and the Finnish High Command, by the institution of a control system which noted the passage of aircraft, and the placing of armed guards at vital railway bridges and junctions and key municipal plants, had the situation well in hand.

The arrival of Swedish and Italian volunteers in Finland during February gave immense encouragement to the Finns, although their numbers would seem to have been less than optimists expected. Swedish volunteers were mentioned as having been in action in the middle of February. Three Swedish volunteer airmen were killed a few days later, one being the son of Torsten Jung, the match manufacturer. Swedish pilots were certainly of great value to the Finns, and they brought down six Russian 'planes within a few days of going into action.
One Swedish pilot returned to safety after his "plane had collided over the Russian lines. He landed in the damaged "plane in a forest, and trekked for three days along a path on skis until he reached the Finnish lines, his only "compass" being the stump of a Finnish cigarette which he found on the trail.

Italian pilots also earned high praise from the Finnish, and twenty of them took part in the air raid on Kronstadt, the Russian naval base, as mentioned in a later chapter of this narrative.

The war in the air followed the pattern which Hitler's Polish campaign had made familiar, except that the number of civilian casualties was relatively small (an estimate of 500 killed) compared to what the Germans, Russian pilots had acquired some experience in the Spanish civil war, but the aerial weapon was still largely an untried one and results were apt to be fortuitous. Under threat from opposing aircraft or from ground defences a pilot might aim badly or might in the last extreme just dump his bombs. Inevitably the civil population came off badly and buildings that ought to have been immune were damaged or destroyed at times. A favourite trick of the Russians was the "silent approach," whereby, with engines cut out, they glided to release their deadly missiles.

Throughout January hardly a day passed without mass attacks from the air. Aabo, the Finnish west coast port, and the towns of Ekenäs and Hangö in South Finland were perhaps the worst sufferers. Aabo was bombed by thirty Russian "planes on January 2. One wing of the historic castle was destroyed, many houses burned, and a steamer sunk in the harbour. But the human casualties were only three killed and several wounded, among the latter being a Nazi member of the German Legation in Helsinki who was visiting the town. Raids continued almost daily until Aabo's worst experience on January 16, when a direct hit on an air-raid shelter killed fifty people.

Describing Aabo, Ekenäs and Hangö, a correspondent wrote: "These three towns, once flourishing centres of Finnish culture, are now filled with blackened and twisted ruins from which a grey pall of smoke rose into the leaden sky. More than 500 Russian "planes have taken part in the raids, first dropping incendiary bombs, then high-explosive bombs."

This correspondent recalled the bitter words of a citizen of Aabo: "We are sick to death of sympathy—we have had enough and to spare. What we need is fighting "planes." Another citizen remarked sullenly: "Why worry? If this goes on we shall all be dead in another fortnight."

By January 22, 400 houses had been destroyed in Aabo and an equal number at Hangö. The scenes were appalling and the misery of the inhabitants, rendered homeless in one of the bitterest Arctic winters within living memory, was intense.

A particularly distressing incident of the air war was the bombing of a Finnish field hospital, which received a direct hit from a high-explosive bomb. Of 30 patients in the hospital, 22 were killed. Four women nurses and two male nurses also lost their lives.

"I arrived at the spot after a wild drive through the woods," wrote a correspondent. "The hospital was ablaze from top to bottom. The blackened and twisted corpses were being carried out of the building. The Russian planes returned again and again and fired machine-guns at those who were trying to rescue the wounded from the burning building. I saw one of the men on the operating table with a terrible wound in the face. He had just been operated on when the bomb burst. Some of the patients saved themselves on crutches. Others, bleeding from new wounds, crawled out on hands and knees."

Another similar case was the bombing of a large steamer used for hospital purposes in Aabo harbour. It bore the customary Red Cross markings.

The most intense Russian air attack began on January 11, heralding five days of raids on places as far apart as Viipuri in the east and Helsinki in the south west. Between 350 and 400 Russian "planes took part in these raids. Viipuri alone was bombed by 22 "planes. In one week 2,000 bombs on 42 localities far from the battle-fronts were dropped. Most of the bombs aimed at Helsinki fell into the sea.

Yet, in spite of these attacks, the loss of life among Finnish civilians was surprisingly small. In one week's intensive bombing only 18 civilians were killed and 93 wounded. By the middle of January it was estimated that the Russians had dropped 4,000 bombs on the civilian population and killed 250 people.

Not did the Russian bombers have it all their own way. The arrival of foreign "planes enabled the Finns to strengthen their defences. A great many Russian "planes were brought down; some figures put the number, after six weeks of hostilities, at 170. Early in January the Finns were stated to be using fast new bombers, attacking the port of Imarnahari, near Petsamo, which was captured by the Russians in the early stages of the war.

On January 4 the Finn "planes again took the offensive, and dropped 3,000,000 pamphlets on Leningrad. These pamphlets gave the news of

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**Finnish Leaflet Dropped over Russian Lines**

**Front**

The Red chiefs and the Political Commissioners are throwing you into the arms of an icy death.

We give you this advice—this is how you can save yourself. Destroy the Red chiefs and the Political Commissioners and let yourself be taken prisoners. That is what thousands of your friends have done, and have thus escaped death.

**Back**

The Finns pay generously for the arms you bring them.

For a revolver 100 roubles
- rifle 150
- automatic rifle 400
- machine-gun 1,500
- tank 10,000

For an aeroplane in good condition we pay 10,000 dollars, and, moreover, we will pay the passage of the pilot who brings it to us to any country he wishes.

Down with war! Surrender and cut short this war. Come in our camp and we will treat you as friends.

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**GOOD FINNISH PROPAGANDA**

This is a reproduction of one of the leaflets dropped by the Finns over the Russian lines. The translation is given in the column above.

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ROOF-TOP VIGIL IN HELSINKI

Despite the relentless persistence of the Russian air campaign against Finnish objectives, civilian casualties were relatively small. Highly efficient A.R.P. under the direction of the Inspector-General of the Ministry of Defence, Gen. Siluvo (left), and well-organized evacuation were the main reasons. Women played a vital part in this work, and above a V.S.E. (Air Raid Warden) in "aeroplane-sitting" from a tall building in Helsinki.

Finish victories and promised good treatment to prisoners. The raid presumably had some propaganda effect, but could do little to help the Finish. It was clear that when the full strength of the Soviet Forces was brought into play Finland must be overwhelmed, short of very considerable assistance from abroad.

Finish pilots showed themselves excellent fighters, one pilot shooting down six Russian bombers soon after they had been sighted from the ground. Of 24 Soviet warplanes which bombed Finish towns on January 25, only three returned. But the Russians seemed to have inexhaustible supplies of bombers and pilots. Finish fire-fighters became so weary after weeks of bombing attacks that they were physically incapable of checking the raiders.

More and more fighting planes from abroad seemed to be the crying need of the Finish - otherwise, as one authority expressed it, with the shortening of the Arctic nights and approach of spring, the Finish fighting in the front lines might have nothing to defend. Statements by authoritative British spokesmen implied that substantial British help was under way for Finland. In the middle of February, when the question of volunteers for Finland was raised in the British House of Commons, it was stated that a general licence had been granted to British subjects to enlist in the Finish forces.
Chapter 31

THE NEW NAZI RELIGION: A FANTASTIC APOTHEOSIS OF PAGANISM

Although the persecution of the Christian Churches in Germany has aroused widespread condemnation in Britain and other countries, it scarcely appears to be realized in some quarters that this oppressive action was part of a definite movement which had for its object the restoration of the ancient pagan faith of Germany to the status and functions of a national religion, so reconstituted as to fit in with modern Nazi views. This policy, though at first expressed only tentatively and with extraordinary caution and subtlely of purpose, had, during the past few years, been pursued with increasing zeal and characteristic ruthlessness by those leaders who had more particularly identified themselves with the less material side of Nazi doctrine.

The sources from which this fantastic endeavour has had its rise are by no means obscure. Its most prominent apostle was Herr Alfred Rosenberg, a journalist and propagandist of Baltic-Russian extraction, who was obsessed by the prevailing doctrine of the "Nordic" racial superiority. In numerous books and pamphlets he expressed the intention of the Nazi caucus to restore the ancient Teutonic traditions of life and belief in all their harsh and primitive ruggedness, as being essential to the welfare of the German race, whom he conceived as enfeebled and discouraged by Christian thought and practice.

When the Nazi political creed was as yet in its first stages of incubation, Rosenberg, an émigré from Bolshevist Russia, made his way to Munich, where he formed a close friendship with Herr Hitler. It was indeed by this Baltic Germanophile that the Fuehrer was more expressly initiated into the advanced principles of the "Nordic" tradition. That Hitler was ripe for their reception was due chiefly to his profound personal admiration for the writings of Houston Stewart Chamberlain and Paul de Lagarde, and the works of Richard Wagner, which in the form of music-dramas cast a glamorous radiance over the crude hero-tales and legends of Teutonic antiquity. The intimacy grew space, and when at last Nazism became a force to be reckoned with, Hitler appointed Rosenberg Director of the Foreign Press, Director of Philosophical Outlook for the Reich, and editor-in-chief of that chain of official newspapers, the most prominent among which is the "Volkische Beobachter."

With the power and the prestige of a triumphant party behind him, Rosenberg almost at once began the dissemination of his gospel of Nazi salvation. This was first published in a bulky and grandiloquent volume, "The Myths of the Twentieth Century," which, because of the anti-Christian ideals it upheld, earned for its author in German religious circles the unequivocal title of the "German anti-Christ."

In the section of this amazing work which deals more particularly with religion, Herr Rosenberg revealed a grudging admiration for what he called the more "authentic" qualities of the Christian faith—that is, those aspects of it which have no connexion with purely "Semitic" ideals. The Founder of Christianity, he believed, was of Aryan, not Jewish, descent, and inculcated a "masculine" code of ethics and behaviour agreeable to German and Nordic ways of thought. On the other hand, the "feminine" or traditional element in Christianity he conceived as a later interpolation of Jewish origin, conducive to and destructive of Nordic virility. Particularly were its doctrines of humility, gentleness and universal love to be abhorred by all good Germans as shabby and effete.

Rosenberg's doctrines were, indeed, a complete transvaluation and denial of those moral and spiritual truths cherished and accepted by Christians of all denominations. Civilization he regarded as entirely a Germanic institution, and in the culture and traditions of other races could discern nothing but the rottenness of a degenerate Semitic or Latin effeminacy. To the Germanic race alone all progress was to be referred, but such culture as the rest of the world deemed it had acquired was spurious, a base and social departure from Nordic enlightenment. In particular he lamented the conversion of the early Germans to Christianity as a disaster of the first magnitude. Still, in this, his earliest essay towards the salvation of a naughty world, he had no intention of founding a new German religion.

But when Nazism became the ruling power in Germany, Rosenberg proclaimed the establishment of a Nazi National Church—invisible, perhaps, so far as its material fabric was concerned, but none the less in actual existence, "spiritually" speaking. In announcing this new departure he gave concrete expression to his more developed ideals, and that these had the authority of the Government behind them cannot be doubted in view of what followed. In the first place he held that it was not possible to distinguish between the idea of God and the racial soul of the German people. After thus defying the German race, he laid it down that such Christian doctrines as the idea of redemption were anxious to "our noble German folk," who were in need of such acts of Divine clemency. The Old Testament he
RUSSO-BALTIC APOSTLE OF TEUTONISM

Herr Alfred Rosenberg, seen above addressing a Nazi gathering at Munich, is the chief exponent of the doctrine of 'Nordic' racial supremacy. This apostle of Teutonism was born in Russia and served in the Russian Army during the First Great War. His 'Mythos of the 20th Century' is a standard work of Nazi ideology.

Photo, International Graphic Press

denounced as Jewish in its origin and insisted that it be eliminated along with all historic and institutional Christian dogmas, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. Especially must the anti-Nazi ideals be inculcated in the Sermon on the Mount be suppressed, along with the 'degrading' symbolisms of the Cross.

But this was by no means all. Christian doctrine, he maintained, having been vitiated by Semitic notions, was no longer to be trusted and must be replaced by the matter and spirit of the ancient Nordic myths and sagas, which alone were capable of inspiring the German race with those ideals of manly courage and traditions of stark and heroic valor essential to a conquering folk—virtues which had been undermined and almost obliterated by the demoralizing influence of Christianity. The Fatherland must be saved by a spiritual revolution of supreme intensity reenacted from the beliefs of the Teutonic past.

But along with the Nordic myths and sagas, the legends of Thor and Odin, the Nibelung story, the Icelandic tales and the Eddas of Scandinavia in all their rather savage and sanguinary glory, the youth of Nazi Germany must accept as its 'sacred books' the writings of the pessimistic Schopenhauer, of the mentally unbalanced Nietzsche, of Houston Chamberlain, Wagner, and Hitler. These must be its gospels, providing it with its natural and native sustenance. In order to give practical expression to this doctrine, Rosenberg pressed into his service as the chief priest of his new Germanic dispensation the notorious Julius Streicher, Jew-baiter and terrorist.

The first rites of the new religion were celebrated at the Nordic Festival of the Summer Solstice in 1938, held on the slopes of the Hesselberg, a mountain declared sacred to all Germans by Herr Hitler, where great fires were lighted and a species of ritual was gone through. Addressing a vast concourse of onlookers, Streicher declared that to cast one's sins into the holy fire before which they stood was to cleanse the soul. The German people, he said, were their own priests and had no need of the ministry of 'black-coated men.' Germans would ascend the holy hill whenever they felt the need for worship. Let them be 'beautiful, godlike and natural.'

This Germanic creed, still in the melted-pot so far as its more precise tenets were concerned, had yet made its appeal to thousands among the ignorant or romantically inclined, bemused or obfuscated by the glamorous and successfully victorious record of Nazi achievement. But to the more stable elements in Germany it appeared as a portent dread and threatening. It was perhaps its approach to what might be called the 'deification' of Herr Hitler which appalled and discouraged the more thoughtful and sober among the educated classes of Germany. This apotheosis of the Fuhrer was publicly announced by no less a personage than Dr. Robert Ley, one of the chief Ministers of State, who, in a general communication to the Hitler Youth, gave it utterance in words that can scarcely be described as equivocal. 'We believe in Adolf Hitler alone in this world. . . . We believe that the Lord God has sent us Adolf Hitler so that Germany should be established for all eternity.' If these words do not reveal a belief in the Messianic character and mission of the Fuhrer it would be difficult to suggest what they do disclose.

The reaction of this authoritatively inspired movement upon the Christian Churches in Germany was naturally of the most disastrous kind, and it was opposed 'German' by them with all the Christians' vigour at their command in the peculiarly helpless circumstances in which for the time they found themselves. The presence of a considerable number of Nazi supporters in the Lutheran Church naturally had the effect of weakening the protest of that body. These banded themselves into what was known as 'the German Christians,' who gave unqualified support to Herr Hitler. But they were not a numerous party, although Government intervention had given them almost complete control of the whole organization.
In 1934 the Great Synod of the Lutheran Church courageously declared that it was founded upon the orthodox Christian revelation and that this was in no sense affected by the events of the Nazi Revolution. The Government at once intervened and a long term of discussion in joint committee followed. The champion of Lutheran orthodoxy, Dr. Niemöller, stoutly challenged such suggested innovations as the Messianic claims of Herr Hitler, the anti-Semitic legislation of the Government and its support of the new pagan doctrines. But the Gestapo put an end to the discussions; Dr. Niemöller was sent to a concentration camp on a charge of "continuous behaviour," and the remaining pastors of his way of thinking were subjected to a life of continual persecution by the secret police. Those who still went about their duties were so constantly interfered with and subjected to so many insults and annoyances by the Department of State for Church Affairs, which completely dominated Church finance and the payment of stipends, that at length, worn down by the unequal struggle, those of the bishops and leaders of the denomination not already in prison or under surveillance by the Gestapo accepted the exclusive government of

the Church by "the German Christians," who forbade them to speak in public and closed down their training colleges. Later an Emergency Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Werner, a prominent Nazi, was convened for the control of what may be described as the wreck of a great national faith—that faith which, with such transcendent courage and sacrifice, was first witnessed to by one of the greatest of Germans, Martin Luther.

The Roman Catholic Church in Germany fared but little better. No sooner had Herr Hitler come to power than he signed a concordat with the Vatican, the terms of which were surprisingly generous. But, like most of his pacts, it seemed to have been made only to be broken, for some months later the same kind of vexations newspaper campaign which was usually directed against Poles, Czechs and Jews was brought to bear upon the affairs of the Church of Rome. False and grievous charges of the prevalence of immorality in religious houses were trumped up and reported in the Press with such venomous and slanderous insistence as to cause the deepest pain to Catholics, casting obloquy upon the entire Roman community in Germany. The education of Catholic children was transferred from Church to State by means of overt threats and menace to parents, while in Austria not only were Catholic priests and prelates, Cardinals Lmitzer and Faulhaber among them, openly persecuted and threatened with violence, but later a levy was made upon Austrian Catholic Church funds, plate and treasures of

art and other objects being demanded by the Government for the prosecution of the war.

The outrages upon the body and spirit of the Roman faith in the German lands and the blasphemous claims of the Hitler cult were the subject of a severe Roman Church censure by the Pope (Pius XI), who, in his encyclical for 1937, denounced the "organized bondage in religious matters" which characterized the Nazi regime, its disloyalty to the spirit of the Founder of the Christian faith, and its substitution of "ancient pre-Christian German concepts" for the worship of the One God. By the beginning of 1939 the Nazi Government had secretly decreed the downfall of the Roman Church in Germany, a blow which was averted only by the personal efforts of Pope Pius XII (formerly Cardinal Pacelli), who dispatched an emergency summons to the German bishops to assemble with all haste at Rome, where the strongest measures were taken to urge the Italian and other Governments to intervene.

That the Nazi Party should seek to re-establish the traditions and worship of a faith of the lower cults, whose deities and heroes were symbolic of the most primitive cunning and brutal violence, was sufficiently expressive of the spirit of grotesque and adolescent fantasy which undoubtedly inspired its leadership, and which indeed provided the most striking proof of that capacity for self-deception which was the most salient feature of Nazi mentality as displayed at that time.
There were times in the Great War of 1914-18 when the home front was badly shaken—how badly we know now from the official Blue Books and the spate of reminiscences from the pens of those directly responsible for the organization of the vast struggle. To prevent, if possible, a repetition of such experiences, the Government took certain steps as soon as the war clouds began to gather. Their task was to see that the country was so organized that the maximum amount of food could be produced. Ever before their eyes was the memory of those dark days of April, 1917, when shipping losses per month reached the appalling peak figure of 850,000 tons. Britain's available food supplies had then sunk to a dangerous margin. This was not to be allowed to happen again.

The first step taken, more than a year before the outbreak of hostilities, was for the Ministry of Agriculture to nominate privately a man with agricultural experience in each county. The duty of these men was to get together quietly a skeleton organization which could be developed into a first-class, active machine as soon as the emergency arose. In this very important task of selection all political partisanship was thrown aside. To get the best and most experienced man was all that mattered. Lord Addison, for example, though he had been Minister of Agriculture in the Labour Government of 1929-31, was asked by his Conservative successor in office to take over this duty of selection in the county of Buckinghamshire. All this important work was done voluntarily. At the outbreak of war the skeleton organization took on flesh and became alive. Smoothly, efficiently and without any fuss the machine already prepared began to operate.

Deep rooted in the heart of the British people is a dislike of bureaucratic control, and of all classes the British farmer yields to none in his hatred of "the minions of Whitehall." To avoid arousing this prejudice and so hampering the work upon which they were engaged, care was taken to select an administrative personnel with whom the farmers were familiar. The agricultural officials as enlisted were local farmers and neighbours.

The organization was very simple. The nominee of the Ministry of Agriculture formed a War Agricultural Executive Committee, consisting mostly of experienced farmers. This committee was broken up into a number of sub-committees to deal with such obvious problems as the amount of grassland to be put under the plough, and the supply of labour and machinery. As all such committees run the risk of becoming remote from realities, an effective system of keeping in touch with the farmers was further devised. The county was divided up into areas corresponding to the various rural district councils. Over these areas presided a district committee, selected by the executive committee. The district committees were composed of farmers doing their work voluntarily. The last link in the chain of communication consisted of the parish correspondents—also for the most part farmers.

The task with which the various county committees were entrusted was in the first place to put 1,500,000 acres of grassland under the plough. That was the amount of land which, according to the Ministry experts, had gone out of production. To bring it back into production a quota was given to each county, the sum of those quotas amounting in all to 1,500,000 acres.

The working of the plan was simplicity itself. First the farmer had to be encouraged of his own free will to put his grassland under the plough. For this purpose, in the months before the war, the Ministry of Agriculture announced a subsidy of £2 for each acre of old grassland broken up. This was, in effect, an attempt to sweeten the pill that had to be swallowed. Since 1919 practically half the arable land had been turned into grazing land. British farmers in some counties were rapidly becoming cow-keepers and nothing else. Moreover, they were keeping their cows on imported feeding stuffs, which might not be available in time of war. They had, therefore, to be given a mild incentive to do something which appeared opposed to their business interests.

With the outbreak of hostilities each county district committee began a survey of the land in its area which could be put under the plough. The parish correspondents visited all the farmers in their parishes, with whom of course, they were on neighbourly terms, and discussed how much land they could bring into cultivation. They then forwarded the results of their investigations to the district committee, who, having collected all the required data for their area, reported to their War Agricultural Executive.

In the first months of the war everything went smoothly, and the War Agricultural Executive Committee had no occasion to use their compulsory powers, which were kept in reserve for
MISSILES OF DEATH AMID THE SNOWS

The Russians were harassed with numerous counter-attacks by the Finnish troops, who made up for their numerical inferiority by greater mobility and enterprise; and the photograph above shows Finnish soldiers hurling hand grenades in an attack on Russian outposts in the Salla sector.

Photo, Planet News
AFTER THE GREAT RUSSIAN ROUT—

When the great battle of Saratovskoe, during the course of which the French invaded the Russian café, began, was over, enormous numbers of prisoners and a colossal amount of war material remained in the possession of the French. The Spoils included about a hundred field guns and nearly three hundred motor-cars and armoured cars, as well as numbers of field telephones, and

GRIM DEBRIS OF THE BATTLEFIELD

great quantities of small arms and ammunition. The photograph above, though showing but a tiny part of the battle-front, gives some idea of the fury of the struggle which took place there. Wrecked and abandoned Soviet vehicles are scattered about in profusion, surrounded by the corpses of their defenders, but the scene of carnage is partially veiled by a mantle of snow
AFTER THE GREAT RUSSIAN ROUT

When the great battle of Smorgonka, during the course of which the Poles reached the Russian 4th Division, was over, enormous numbers of prisoners and a colossal amount of war material remained in the possession of the Poles. The scene included about a hundred field guns and nearly three hundred motor-cars and armoured cars, as well as numbers of field kitchens and...

GRIM DEBRIS OF THE BATTLEFIELD

The photograph above, though showing but a tiny part of the battlefield, bears witness to the ferocity of the struggle which took place there. Wrecked and abandoned Soviet vehicles are scattered about in confusion, surrounded by the clumps of their defenders, but the scene of carnage is momentarily sealed by a mantle of snow.
SOME OF THE RUSSIAN DEAD AT PETSAMO

The Russian casualties after the Soviet Army's repeated attempts to break through the Finnish defences were enormous, and in the intense cold which prevailed during the winter months most of the wounded soon succumbed. Here are Russian dead in the Petsamo region awaiting burial: the man on the left is frozen stiff in the attitude in which he met his end.

Photo, Planet News
realistic farmers, if and when necessary. In many counties half the work to be done was done voluntarily, and the local farmers ploughed up a portion of their grassland. By December all the work so embarked upon voluntarily had been completed. Then the executive committee issued a "Ploughing-Up Order." This procedure—the Ploughing Up Order was only issued after the grassland had been broken up—had a legal object. It overrode the terms of a farmer's tenancy agreement, exempting him from the necessity stated in his agreement of obtaining the landlord's consent to the ploughing-up of grassland. Armed with this order, he was under no necessity of paying any compensation to the landlord, or of buying seed to put back to grass the land which had been broken up.

Profiting by the experience of the war of 1914–18 the county executive committees avoided the mistakes that were then made. Between 1914 and 1918 farmers were asked to concentrate on the production of wheat. In the present war the main object of the agricultural effort had been to produce animal feeding stuffs. The Government have stressed this point for the obvious reason that the more food produced for stock, the more animals there will be for human consumption. In effect, the task attempted involved nothing short of a revolution—the giving of a new direction to the interests of farmers, diverting them from becoming merely cow-keepers, into which state they were rapidly sinking. For this purpose the crops approved by the county executive committees were winter wheat, oats, barley—on light land—potatoes, peas, beans and roots. In order that the scheme may operate fairly a farmer who ploughs up poor land and allows it to lie fallow, so that it may regain its fertility, is not necessarily debarred from the subsidy of £2 an acre.

That this scheme was not a purely bureaucratic one, divorced from the real interests of the farmers, was proved by experience. The best brains in agriculture had long maintained that grass farming—what may be called the production of milk instead of crops—was not the best farming.

**Arable**

According to such an authority as Sir George Stapleton, only a small part of the land should be permanent grass, and all other grassland should be ploughed every eight years. The extent of the change brought about by the war varied, of course, in different counties. In Suffolk, for example, there was very little grassland to break up. In the Home Counties the situation was very different. In Buckinghamshire only one in every five fields was arable in 1938, and 20,000 acres had to be put under the plough. Indeed, a complete change had to be effected—from dairy farming to mixed farming. In such counties the executive committees were faced immediately with the problem of machinery. In one area there were fifty farms, with an average of 150 acres, given over solely to the production of milk that only one single-furrow horse plough could be found among them. To meet this deficiency the committee had to obtain ploughs, and then to harness them to some motive power.

A simple system was adopted: The farmer having no suitable appliances was advised first to borrow from his neighbours. If these were not able to supply him, he could next seek the help of a ploughing contractor. In the last resource the executive committee placed at his disposal some of the thirty tractors supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture to each county. These tractors were under the control of a machinery officer and were distributed in groups of five under the care of a foreman responsible for their maintenance. The farmer was charged from £1 to 25s. per acre for the use of these tractors in breaking up grassland.

Another difficult problem that had to be tackled was the supply of labour. In those counties where mixed farming had been gradually dwindling away and more and more land had been left under grass, the skilled agricultural labourer was becoming as rare as the Great Auk. At harvest time and hay-making farmers relied upon the local Employment Exchanges to supply them with the practically unskilled labour they required. The new condition of things created by the war obviously made this method impracticable. To tend crops—to hoe and single roots—requires skilled men. Where were the farmers to find them?

The county executive committees in all cases adopted the same method. A labour officer was appointed in each county to co-ordinate the supply of labour. As part of his duty it fell to him to keep in touch with all the Labour Exchanges and to anticipate the needs of farmers well beforehand. When the local exchanges could not supply the skilled men required, arrangements had to be made to fetch the labourers from other areas and to find accommodation for them near their work. But as it was impossible to obtain all the skilled labour required by this means, the executive committees resorted to a new source. This was the Women's Land Army, enlisted and controlled by the Ministry of Agriculture.

In response to the national appeal thousands of women flocked to enlist. They were drawn from all classes—domestic servants, the daughters of professional men, society girls. In the war of 1914–18 a similar organization did magnificent work, but there was then a great waste of human material, which this time the Government was determined to avoid. To begin with, would-be recruits were carefully selected and those obviously unlikely to be of any use were refused. The recruit was then placed on a farm for a month's training, during which time she received ten shillings a week, in addition to her board and lodging. The Women's Land Army meanwhile kept in touch with the farmer with whom the recruit had been placed, receiving regular reports of her progress. If those reports were not favourable, she was discharged at the end of the month. If they were favourable—that is to say, if she was likely to become an efficient landworker—she was found employment, receiving the standard agricultural pay.

Considerable organization was needed to supervise those thousands of young women who were helping to raise the nation's food. One of the most acute problems to be faced was that of housing. Obviously accommodation.
WORK OF THE WOMEN’S LAND ARMY

Some aspects of the work of the Women’s Land Army, the badge of which is seen alongside, are given in these photographs, which show, above, Land Army girls pointing stakes for fencing; left, learning thatching in Suffolk; below, packing sugar beet tops into a silo at the Northamptonshire Institute of Agriculture.

Photos: Foot
adapted to male agricultural workers—assuming such to be available—was not suitable for the members of the Women's Land Army. In some counties this difficulty was solved by taking over empty houses and running them on hostel lines. By this means W.L.A.s were assured of certain amenities, of which they would otherwise be deprived. The county committees relied mainly on the Women's Land Army for the skilled work that had to be done in the spring, when male labour might not be available.

It will explain the essential simplicity of this vast organization if the channel of communication between the farmer and the controlling authority—the County Organization War Agricultural Executive Committee—be followed out. The farmer takes his difficulties to his parish correspondent, a man he has probably known all his life. The parish correspondent forwards this to the district committee, who, if circumstances permit, deal with it direct. If the question raised is complicated, involving a matter of county policy, the committee refer the problem to the cultivation sub-committee, who in the last resource appeal for a ruling to the executive committee. The farmer has no hesitation in making use of this channel, for he knows that everyone concerned is familiar with his difficulties, is capable of understanding them, and will treat them with sympathy and common sense. At the beginning of the war all the energies of the county committees were directed to the solution of the first and most important problem—that of providing food for animals, which in turn could become food for the people. Other questions had also to be tackled, and among the chief of these was the rationing of the foodstuffs produced. It was realized as a possibility, to meet which preparations should be made, that there might be an unequal division of foodstuffs required for animals. One farmer might have more than he required for his stock, and another too little. To ensure that no farmers should suffer—that all the stock raised should be fed properly, so that the maximum amount of food should be raised in the country for the benefit of the nation—a rationing scheme was drawn up.

Attention was also given to specialized farms such as pig and poultry farms. For the most part farms of this nature relied upon imported food, and circumstances might arise when this would be difficult to obtain. One of the duties of the executive committees was to advise farmers how they could employ locally grown substitutes, and to see that the supplies were forthcoming. In addition to all cereal crops the committees encouraged the production of roots and kale. In some counties dairy farmers who had broken up their grassland were advised to grow one-third mangels, one-third swedes, and one-third marrow-stemmed kale, or thousand-headed kale. Another problem with which the executive committees had to deal was that of rabbits and pests. This was met by organized scientific destruction.

In the early months of the war more than half the 1,500,000 acres of grassland required to be put back into production had been voluntarily broken up. A great deal of the remainder will be dealt with "by persuasion," and it is only with the residue that the executive committees may be called upon to use their compulsory powers. These cases will probably be limited to the Home Counties and to the districts immediately adjoining big industrial centres.

The speculative builder, who had bought land and was holding it against the time when he could run up houses at a profit, was likely to find his building sites under the plough. This might apply as well to land that had already been scheduled for building. Nothing was to be allowed to stand in the way of the nation being properly fed.

**SPEED THE PLOUGH**

One of the first steps taken by the Ministry of Agriculture on the outbreak of war was to see that as much land as possible was put under cultivation. Below, tractors are ploughing a Perthshire field which has been grassland for over twenty years.

*Photo, Planet News*
APEALS TO THE CIVILIAN'S PATRIOTISM

So different were the early months of the War from their counterpart in 1914, that the 'man in the street' might be forgiven for not fully realizing the great struggle in which the Allies were engaged. Spokesmen of the Government therefore addressed themselves from time to time to the Home Front on the necessity for sacrifice and selflessness. We give below excerpts from three such admonitions.

Mr. W. S. Morrison, Minister of Food, in a broadcast, January 3, 1917.

We are asking our sailors and seamen and women to bring food supplies to us. I sometimes think of the great contrast between our lives in this war—the lives we are leading in the shelter of our homes, and the lives of our seafaring men. Work as we will, we cannot make a contribution equal to theirs. What we must be quite sure about is that we do not ask them, for all their readiness and fine courage, to run unnecessary risks for us.

Having decided to take less, there must be perfect fairness of distribution, so that each one gets his fair share of rationing. This spirit of rationing represents the spirit in which one and all of us will work to take the strain and face the testing of war. We will ask our neighbors at all to bring us some food we need. Let them bring instead of that surplus more and more of all that will increase our production and their strength. And, until we have won our victory, we at home will share out what our men bring us as they share the dangers of their service.

Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at the Mansion House, January 5, 1917.

Pitiless, with this development of our military forces, we have the great system of civil defence which has been built up by way of preparation against air raids. Day and night our fighting aircraft and our anti-aircraft guns, our observer corps are mobilized and ready to detect and meet the raiders. Then we have also the auxiliary forces and police, air raid wardens, casualty services, and all that great army of volunteers, most of them part-time unpaid workers, who form an essential part of our system of civil defence. Finally, we have the sleepy measures which we have taken to diminish, if we can, the damage the raids might do, the restriction upon the hours of places of public entertainment, and all the complicated arrangements for comfort at first aid posts and hospitals.

These are very precautions and they have occasioned a good deal of hardship and inconvenience, loss of money and, I am sure, loss of life, too, in street accidents. Then, after all, four months have gone by, and the air raids have not come. Some people think it really is very disappointing, and it is perhaps not surprising that others should ask whether, after all, all these precautions were necessary and whether we have not gone a great deal too far in the direction of safety.

I wish I could take that view, but all I am going to say now about it is this: Whilst we have already reviewed all our different precautions and modified and amended them, where we thought that we could do so without disregarding the important factor of safety, I do not consider that the risk of air raids is over or even that it has diminished. And so long as that is so I am certain that we should make no capital mistake if we were to reverse the policy that we have hitherto followed.

We must not think because this war has not taken the form hitherto that we can carry on our lives as if we were still at peace. We have got to do without a lot of things that we shall miss very much. Although we are not yet actually lighting on land, we are making preparations to enable us to do so with the greatest effect whenever the right moment comes.

For that purpose we are devoting more and more of our man-power to the production of armaments. That must mean that there is less and less of our man-power available to produce civilian goods.

Early warnings were issued in 1914. We should impart in 1917.

Even supposing we had ample supplies of labour, we should still have to curtail our imports of goods which are not necessary for the prosecution of the war in order to leave available our resources of foreign exchange and of shipping to purchase and to bring home in ships imports of those things which we cannot do without.

It must be remembered that since our raw materials, like our foodstuffs, are only partly produced at home and have largely to be imported from overseas, when we are making munitions on the present scale we are adding enormously to the amount of imports which become necessary to us and therefore to the demands upon our shipping.

Exports Must Pay for Imports

Imports have to be paid for, and they can only be paid for in one of three ways, either in gold, or by the sale of foreign securities, or by the export of goods and services. Therefore since our supplies of gold and foreign securities are limited—and, mind you, we must keep reserves of these things in case this may prove to be a long war—we are driven back upon exports, and we have therefore got, in order to cope with this situation to increase our exports as much as we can and at the same time to diminish the imports of the things that we can do without.

If you find that you cannot buy the woolen goods that you have been accustomed to, remember that wool is wanted for the clothing of the Army. If you are asked to lessen your consumption of beef and sugar, remember that you are making available space in ships which can be used for iron ore or machine tools. If you are asked to put your savings into Savings Certificates instead of spending them, remember that you are giving help to the Chancellor in his Herculean task of finding the wherewithal for our unspeakable expenditure on munitions.

In these times of war I cannot guarantee—no one can guarantee—that the sacrifices of all are going to be equal, but if each one makes the sacrifice as the call comes to him, his own conscience will be clear and our combined efforts will see us through.

Lord Halifax, Foreign Secretary, in a speech at Leeds, January 10, 1917.

It is a rule that we should realize that the home front is not less important, even if it is for the time being less dangerous, than any other. The land front, against Germany in the West stretches from the Sibriton to Switzerland. Every yard of that front must be held with equal resolution and the holding of it is going to demand heavy sacrifices from us all, and service on the home front means sacrifice.

It means willing and cheerful compliance with wartime restrictions which, whether by the release of shipping, or by the saving of financial strain, or in any other way, can help the generality of our war effort. It means cutting out all but absolutely necessary expenditure. It means leading to the State very penny that we can. It means changes in industry to meet the great demands of war production, and it means for everybody hard and unremitting work.

The campaign for war savings is a great national effort to bring in a great volume of savings to reinforce our national finances, and it is of the highest importance to the State that that campaign should achieve success. A steady and continuous effort will be needed throughout the war. Let us give cheerfully, lest we think always of sacrifices as something which gives strength and dignity to the cause in which it is made.

I do not forget that our cause will only mean victory if those who passionately believe in it are prepared to spend themselves in its behalf.
THE HOME FRONT: A SURVEY OF EVENTS AND PROBLEMS AT THE TURN OF THE YEAR


Well into the New Year (1940) the war continued to make apparently very slow progress in the eyes of the public, and the state of rather bored waiting, varied by controversies over administration, was a continuation of the situation which had evolved at home by the end of October, 1939. The storm over certain additional provisions of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act (described in Chapter 25) had ended in an agreement among all parties by the end of November; but it was seen to have repercussions in America, producing a quite false impression—possibly isolationist sentiment was largely responsible for this—that Britain had been forced into "Totalitarian" methods of Government. Actually the freedom of that public criticism which resulted in some concessions by the Government should have corrected such a view, though the powers of Government Departments remained overwhelming.

An aspect of wartime government that was of more popular concern soon revealed itself in certain cases where, under the Courts of Consistory, Emergency Powers Act, magistrates protected tenants from eviction for non-payment of rates or rent. The simplest cases involved were those where the husband in a family had been called up for military service. Thus a deputy judge at a London County Court observed that if the court were satisfied that a tenant's inability to pay had merely arisen from the war, the landlord was deprived of his right to detain. This general principle was the one most commonly invoked, though the courts soon had to deal with more complicated issues. Among these latter were the pleas of hotel-keepers unable to meet liabilities because of loss of business owing to evacuation and the black-out. Many business firms had removed away from vulnerable centres when the war began, but by December, 1939, they were planning to return so as to avoid the inconveniences of these changes of locality.

Food rationing remained largely an abstract question up to the end of December. After January 8, 1940, when the rationing of bacon (4 oz. a week), sugar (12 oz. a week), and butter (4 oz. a week) really got under way, there was no shortage; on the contrary, surplus stocks sometimes resulted, and in the middle of January certain kinds of bacon were permitted to be sold without surrender of coupons. At the end of the month the bacon ration was increased to 8 oz. Meat came under Government control on January 15. Local shortages, especially of beef, occurred towards the end of January, although rationing was delayed until March 11. Certain dislocations of the machinery of distribution in the trade had occurred while the Government was taking over supplies.

A sense of wartime dangers was stimulated in the public chiefly by the black-out regulations, which continued into the New Year as the dominant interest. Since the likelihood of serious air raids on civilian centres seemed to be remote, criticism of the lighting restrictions grew in volume and acerbity, while evasions returned to the big centres in increasing numbers. Casualties to pedestrians on the roads reached high figures, a fact which was stressed as part of the argument to persuade the Ministry of Home Security to relax the lighting regulations, which were felt most severely in the dark autumn and winter days. Statistics showed that up to the end of November, 1939, there had been 2,975 deaths from road accidents in three months—over 1,000 more than those for the same period of 1938. And yet about half a million cars had been laid up by the middle of December, owing to the heavier taxes and the severe rationing of petrol to private users.

The dimmed and depressing lighting of railway carriages, which made it impossible to read after dark, was another "grouse" which the British

CHECKING FOOD RATION COUPONS

After food rationing had come into force on January 8, 1940, shop assistants found themselves confronted with the tedious job of counting thousands of tiny coupons. This necessarily took up an enormous amount of time, and representations were made to the Ministry of Food in the hope of finding some more satisfactory method, such as the issuing of cards on which the coupons could be cancelled by stamp.

Photo, Fru.
NEW REALM OF CUMBERLAND DENSITY

The phrase "New Realm of Cumberland Density" is visible on the page. It seems to be the title or header of the text content that follows. The rest of the text is not fully legible due to the quality of the image, but it appears to discuss some aspect of density or urban planning, possibly in the region of Cumberland.

From a different angle, the text mentions a change in lighting regulations or policies. It talks about the need for more thorough road vehicles and lighting improvements, possibly discussing the effectiveness of different lighting systems or the need for better illumination in urban areas.

The text also refers to the Ministry of Home Security, indicating that policies or regulations regarding security or public safety were in place or being discussed. The mention of Liverpool and the impact of these policies or regulations on that city suggests a regional or national context for the discussion.
light (since the intensity was not allowed to be greater than 0.0025 foot-candles—about one four-hundredth to one four-thousandth of that for normal lighting), but it was enough at least to make the ground visible to the bemighted pedestrian, and to enable him to see or guess where the kerb was.

Before Christmas, 1939, Glasgow became one of the pioneers on a big scale in the use of this new lighting.

An acute shortage in the supply of batteries for torches intensified the demand for the modified lighting. Although many batteries were coming from America and Belgium—home manufacturers being quite unable to meet the demand while also supplying the Services—it was well into the New Year before they became plentiful.

The comparatively trivial character of some of the chief matters of public concern at this time justly reflected the confidence of the civil population in home security. On December 14, 1939, Sir John Anderson announced in the House of Commons that the new type of low-intensity street lighting would be allowed in all areas of the country except certain regions on the East and South-East coasts. But the useful "streetlight" lamps were adopted only very slowly by various local councils.

Not so prolonged as the black-out campaign but equally lively for a while, and marked by a good deal of irresponsible and incorrect newspaper controversy, was the burst of criticism directed at the cost of A.R.P. services. Some coming out of excess personnel had been instituted in the autumn, and here and there was reported to be going on still in December. But the Minister of Home Security did not encourage the criticism of A.R.P. costs, which was often unreasonable, especially when the paid workers were reproached with having nothing to do. On November 30 Sir John Anderson stated in the House of Commons that the average weekly expenditure on the whole-time volunteers enrolled in Air Raid Precautions and Emergency Fire Service in October was estimated at £775,000. A few days later he addressed a letter to local authorities, explaining the Government's decision that all part-time unpaid volunteers for A.R.P. should be compensated for loss of earnings due to their duties, caused by an air raid. The maximum compensation was 10/- a working day for men and 7/- for women. At the beginning of December there were over 1,000,000 A.R.P. workers on the books of the authorities as available in any emergency, and there were also 700,000 trained workers in industrial establishments. The total reduction of costs had been negligible.

On December 14 Sir John Anderson stated that the paid whole-time volunteers totalled 291,000 in the A.R.P. organization and the A.F.S., of whom 288,000 received £2 a week or more. The total monthly cost of A.R.P. personnel was about £3,750,000, almost the whole of which was borne by the Exchequer.

The London County Council Emergency Committee in its capacity of Finance Committee submitted to the Council on December 18 a special estimate for the cost of civil defence from the beginning of the war up to March 31, 1940. This totalled £6,000,000, of which only £300,000 would fall on the rates. The big total for the Metro-

**MEN WHO SERVE ON THE HOME FRONT**

Britain's Home Defence forces consisted largely of men of mature age with previous military experience. In the upper photograph some of these are seen on duty by a railway tunnel. Above, a member of the Observer Corps is plotting the course of an unidentified aircraft. The report will be telephoned to the central control.

Photos, Sport & General / Central Press

**A.R.P. MARINES**

The A.R.P. Marines came into existence to accour the injured aboard ships attacked by Nazi aircraft. Some of them are seen above demonstrating the method of hauling a wounded seaman, laced in a "sling," from the hold of a vessel in distress.

Photo, Associated Press

**The A.R.P. Marines came into existence to assist the injured aboard ships attacked by Nazi aircraft. Some of them are seen above demonstrating the method of hauling a wounded seaman, laced in a "sling," from the hold of a vessel in distress.**

Photos, Associated Press

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APT SLOGANS OF THE ECONOMIC FRONT
These inspiring slogans, placed on the plinth of Nelson's Column, incited people to fund their savings for national defence.

POST OFFICE ISSUE OF 3½ DEFENCE BONDS
The Bonds will be repayable at the end of 4 years, and interest at 3½ per cent will be paid semi-annually thereon. The Bonds will be issued in units of £100 each with a minimum purchase of £10. The Bonds will be purchased in the form of a Bond Book, with a minimum purchase of £100.

PAYING FOR THE WAR
Above is shown the cover and interior of the Defence Bonds, put on sale on November 23, 1939. Purchasable in units of £50, they were issued at par, to bear interest at 3½ per cent and repayable seven years from date of purchase. Below is one of the National Savings Certificates, for general and regular savings up to an individual limit of £500.

70,948 who were in London though not on any school rolls.

Raid and German aircraft on the East Coast occurred with increased frequency in the New Year, and possibly made more impression on the minds of the public than the official warnings not to relax in vigilance. The carrying of gas-masks, which had greatly fallen off by December, seemed once more fairly general, though far less common than it had been during the first month of the war. London people still seemed apt to care, and not one in four carried a mask. At the end of January some 30,000 out of about 240,000 London schoolchildren evacuated had returned to the Metropolis, with about 2,000 of their school teachers. Only 120 of the 900 elementary schools had yet been reopened, though plans were being made to reopen more as soon as possible, to meet the educational needs of this returned population. The 120 schools opened could accommodate only about 31,000 pupils by shifts, and home tutoring for another 100,000 children was being conducted by the busy teachers, who toured regional groups.

Readjustment of the educational position was hampered by the occupation of some schools as A.R.P. and A.F.S. posts, while others had not yet been supplied with the air-raid sheltering required by the official regulations.

Also connected with the general reorganization of resources for civil defence was the opening of schools and colleges at new centres in safe areas. This involved much hard work for teachers, and in some instances involved a rather serious hold-up of University studies for scholarships or degrees. Much of the temporary dislocation, however, was being straightened out by the beginning of 1940.

In November a reorganization of the drastic emergency arrangements to deal with civilian casualties was announced by the Minister of Health. The amended plans allowed the return of many medical men to their own practices, the Ministry henceforth providing for the full-time employment of only a nucleus of medical staff, while a large proportion of the specialist work was to be done by part-time officers who would receive a "retainer" of £500 a year and attend to private practice. In the staffing of first-aid posts local authorities were authorized to pay the medical officer in charge of each post in a vulnerable area a fee of £75 a year with extra fees for sessions on duty. It was expected that the new arrangements also would make for more hospital accommodation for normal civilian sickness, which had been considerably curtailed by the original emergency orders reserving accommodation for air-raid casualties. It was curious, however, that there had been no overflowing of hospitals on this account, as the amount of sickness (or at least the number of patients coming to hospital) had been much smaller than in peacetime.

Following up his September announcement of the War Budget, Sir John Simon announced in the House of
FREEDOM IS IN PERIL
DEFEND IT WITH ALL YOUR MIGHT

HE THOUGHT HE COULD JUST DO IT

IT wasn't far—just a few yards across the road. He wanted to catch the 'bus home, so he took a chance and ran for it. Death happened to get in his way. It was nothing very unusual; literally hundreds of people are killed or injured in the black-out every week. Nearly 1,200 road deaths in December alone. Remember the new speed limit cannot alter the fact that you can see the car before the driver can see you. How often do you hurry and 'just do it'? Will the luck hold?

REACHING BRITAIN'S MILLIONS
In an age of publicity posters inevitably played a large part in the enlightenment and inspiration of the public during the war. Above are a few among the many notices, displayed on hoardings and in newspapers. Others are to be seen in pages 538 and 559.

LOOK OUT IN THE BLACK-OUT!
Continuons on November 21 the issue on the reverse of new National Savings Certificates, designed to assist in financing the war (replacing the current issue), and also a new Defence Bond purchasable in units of £2. The purchase price of the new Savings Certificates remained unchanged at 11½%, but the interest was slightly increased so that the certificate would be worth 17½% after five years and 20½% after the full period of ten years. During the first week of these issues £4,129,000 was invested in the Certificates, and £3,070,000 in the Defence Bonds. This made a total that greatly exceeded the rate of savings of the best week of the first Great War (in February, 1917, when £7,000,000 worth of Certificates were bought). But still more encouraging was the maintenance of the average sales of Certificates and Bonds. It was announced in February, 1940, that in the first eleven weeks of the National Savings Campaign more than £60,000,000 had been paid by the public for the Certificates and Bonds, whereas the official expectations had been in the region of £100,000,000 for the first 12 months. Altogether there were some 50,000 savings groups, three-quarters of which were formed in offices and factories, and new groups were being formed at the rate of 250 a day.

The trade figures as autumn passed into winter proved equally satisfactory, considering the special conditions, and in some respects would have been good in more normal times. Mr. Ronald Cross, Minister of Economic Warfare, in a review of affairs in the House of Commons on January 17, pointed out that a continuance of the more satisfactory aspects of British exports and imports, owing to trade negotiations which Britain was then conducting with fourteen countries, including nearly all the neutrals of Europe. That same week the Board of Trade figures showed that imports and exports totalled more than was the case a year earlier and the biggest increase in exports was for manufactured articles. In imports the greatest increase had been under food, drink and tobacco, proving the resources in supplying power of the nation and also the inefficiency of the enemy's blockade measures.

The tendency of the people to carry on an unusual while awaiting further Entertainment developments was - and Sport shown by the revival of night-life in big centres. Towards the end of the year the theatres, night clubs and restaurants of London's West End were almost normal again, after having been virtually dead for some time, though uniforms largely replaced evening dress. Repertory companies were planning new "seasons" at numerous provincial theatres, and at least half a dozen musical comedies were doing good business in the West End by January. In sport, football certainly was badly hit by the wartime conditions, and it was suggested that the football public had lost much of its keenness for the game owing to the suspending of the tables of points in the over-commercialised leagues and cup competitions. It was even complained that disgracing interfered with the "gate-ology" of such games as were played by professionals. The big membership of mainly young men in the numerous cycling clubs was affected by restrictions, and club meetings were badly curtailed during the autumn; but before the end of the year not even the black-out regulations had prevented the majority of clubs again having their runs at the weekend, or organising oilile games. The two hundred youth hostels in the country were still open, and proved a boon to the cyclists. Fignon fancies were reduced to holding short news, as they could no longer get their special trains and other transport facilities, but they refused to give up their hobby altogether. In this they reflected the spirit of less-specialized sportsmen and, indeed, of the British public as a whole. Those who had lost sport by the cancelling of "shoots" were consoled by the official encouragement to shoot wild pigeons—which were accused of eating more of our crops than we could afford in wartime.

On the whole, abnormal weather conditions throughout January interfered with sport more even than the war. The first part of January, after a cold December, was the coldest in Britain since 1929. At many points along the coast the sea froze. The Thames was frozen for about eight miles between Teddington and Staines, and also at Kingston. Twenty-five degrees of frost were registered in London, more at many places in the
country. Stretches of the Mersey, Humber and Severn were covered with ice. As the snowfalls increased later in the month, transport by rail and road was interfered with, though the worst came with a partial thaw in the first week of February. These remarkable weather conditions remained undescribed in the Press or in the B.B.C. news bulletins until the end of January. Weather news generally had been suppressed from the start of the war, to avoid giving information to the enemy.

Against these comparatively placid events the Ministerial changes announced from 10, Downing Street on the evening of January 5 caused a sensation, at least in the Press. Mr. Leslie Hore-Belisha, who had been regarded as the most successful Minister in Mr. Chamberlain's Cabinet, with the possible exception of Mr. Winston Churchill, had resigned his post as Secretary of State for War, while Lord Macmillan had resigned from the Ministry of Information. The King had accepted the resignations and approved the following appointments: Mr. Oliver Stanley, M.P., Secretary of State for War; Sir Andrew Duncan, President of the Board of Trade; Sir John Beith, Minister of Information.

It was, of course, the sudden announcement of the War Minister which occasioned surprise and even some consternation. Mr. Hore-Belisha had held ministerial office continuously since 1931, when the first National Government was formed, and since his accession to the War Office in May, 1937, he had done most valuable work in modernizing the organization of the army, especially in "democratizing" the officering of the service. Speculation was stimulated by the publication of Mr. Hore-Belisha's letter to the Prime Minister, declining an alternative post which, it turned out, was the Board of Trade: "I wish," said the ex-Minister, "I had felt able to accept the important office which you have been good enough to offer me in your reconstructed Government, but for the reasons I gave you verbally this morning I regretfully cannot see my way to do it." And Mr. Chamberlain, expressing in his reply his regret at the Minister's decision, paid what he called "my sincere tribute to your work at the War Office and to the important reforms you have carried out."

That was all the information vouchedsafe to the nation by its sphinx-like Prime Minister, except that his letter was addressed to "My dear Leslie," who was assured: "It is a great satisfaction to me that there is not now and never has been any difference between us on policy and in particular on the necessity for prosecuting the war with the utmost determination to a successful issue." This assurance was not uncalled for, because the public was plainly quite unprepared for the War Minister's resignation. When Parliament re-opened ten days later, Members were prepared for a fierce debate, but

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"GENERAL POST" OF EVACUATION

Many businesses, as well as schoolchildren, were evacuated from the big cities when war broke out. Once adequate air-raid shelters had been provided, many schools which had been previously closed were allowed to re-open. The top photograph shows children at school undergoing a gas-mask inspection; above, staff at the Ministry of Health in what was formerly the solarium of a health establishment at Blackpool.

Photo: Fox; Reportage

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beforehand the feeling had got round that there was to be no quarrel, and that the late Minister accepted the situation. Mr. Hore-Belisha told the House that no conflict of views and no want of confidence had existed between him and his colleagues, while on the general subject of his army reforms he had not thought that the Army could be made too democratic to fight for democracy.
"I have always thought, as an idealist," he said, "that the Army should be part of the nation and not apart from the nation." Mr. Chamberlain amplified his former tribute, and denied any knowledge of "any serious difference of opinion between my right honourable friend and the Army Council or any member of it."

The House of Commons soon dropped attempts to probe into the personal affair, and Opposition Leaders took an opportunity to air criticism of the composition of the Cabinet. It had been generally felt for some time that a smaller War Cabinet, consisting of members not burdened with departmental duties, should control the conduct of the war. The Government showed no intention of listening to such proposals, but early in the following month the Prime Minister sprung another surprise by confessing that the effective control was in the hands of a "Big Four"—as the Press put it—of Ministers who formed a kind of inner cabinet under the presidency of Lord Chatfield.

**RIGOURS OF A BRITISH WARTIME WINTER**

Some idea of the severe weather which beset Britain as well as the Continent during the winter of 1939-40 may be gained from these photographs. Above, a car is almost buried in the snow at Poynton, near Macclesfield. Below, ducks walking on the ice-bound river at Teddington Weir. The Thames was frozen over for the first time for 45 years.

*Photos: Fox: Typical*
In the First Great War the states of Serbia and Montenegro (later incorporated into the new kingdom of Yugoslavia) had been allies of Britain and France. In summary, Anglo-French aims in south-eastern Europe were these: Britain and France wished these countries, under the leadership of Turkey, to co-operate and form a united front capable of resisting aggression from any quarter. At the same time the Allies tried to prevent the natural resources of these countries being used by Germany to circumvent the Allied blockade.

German aims, in accordance with Nazi psychology, were of a domineering character. Ever since Hitler's advent to power the dream of Nazi economists had been an industrialized Germany and an agricultural Balkan hinterland. The countries of south-eastern Europe were not encouraged to develop their own industries. Rather did Germany look to them to supply the ores, wheat, cattle and oil necessary to the maintenance of her manufacturing population. The exchange of German industrial products for Balkan natural products had, under unscrupulous Nazi commercial methods, given Germany almost a stranglehold on Balkan trade. By selling their products on credit, most of the Balkan countries had accumulated credits within Germany, in liquidation of which Germany forced them to take German manufactures. Ever present in the Nazi mind had been the spectre of the British blockade, but so long as Germany had this immense hinterland to draw on she felt to some extent reassured.

It was significant that the most ardent supporters among Nazi industrialists for this Balkan "granary" policy were those who had identified themselves earlier with the dreams of a Berlin-Baghdad railway. A powerful argument, which Germany did not hesitate to use, was the presence of the ruthless armed forces of the Reich near the frontiers—an argument which after the successive rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland was not lost on the Balkan nations.

Italy's interest in south-eastern Europe, apart from her considerable trade and investments, was to reinforce her position as an Imperial Power. With Hungary and the Balkan countries to draw on, she would be much less dependent on supplies from overseas, all of which had to pass through the Straits of Gibraltar or the Suez Canal, both under British control. Politically, as a Power with unfulfilled aspirations, the troubled state of the Balkans might be utilized to further Italian expansionist aims. Italy's friendship with Hungary, also a Power with a grievance against the Peace Treaties, was very close, and the opportunistic policy of these two countries in the Balkan area had been a powerful factor against stabilization.

The disagreements between the Great Powers accentuated those among the countries of south-eastern Europe. Britain's interest with Turkey in maintenance of the status quo (except in so far as it could be altered by arbitration) ran counter to the policy of Italy and Hungary. Germany's desire to see the Balkans and Hungary geared up to the Nazi industrial machine was in conflict with the interests of both Britain and Italy. The Balkan States were suspicious of each other and were distrustful of the Great Powers.

This was the position when Russia's undeclared war on Finland, beginning on November 30, introduced a new factor into the situation and promised
THE PLOUGHSHARE PROVES A VITAL ARM

The hard winter of 1939 caused considerable delay in the ploughing up of grassland, for which the Government granted to farmers a subsidy of £20 per acre. As soon as milder conditions prevailed ploughing went on from dawn to dusk—and even by moonlight. Our photograph shows grassland being turned over by the plough at Richmond in Yorkshire.
WHEN BRITAIN WAS IN WINTER’S ICY GRIP

The extreme cold which prevailed during the winter of 1939-40 in Britain no less than on the Continent is well exemplified in these two photographs, the one showing a snowbound train, one of many that were held up in this manner, and the other depicting ice-floes on the South-East coast. So severe was the cold at this spot that the tide was prevented from reaching within 1,500 yards of the shore.

Photos, Topical / H.P.U.
A NERVE CENTRE OF A-A. DEFENCE

Here is a scene in one of the Control Centres of the Observer Corps, where messages are received from observation posts regarding the movements of all unidentified aircraft approaching or flying over any part of Britain. Around the table are the "plotters," who arrange the symbols according to reports received. Clarifying these reports are the supervisors with their croppers "takes," and on the dais above are "tellers," who pass information forward to the Higher Command of the R.A.F. Seated high in the corner is a "recorder," who plots an accurate record of every track.
RUMANIA'S KING IN THE COVETED PROVINCE

In January, 1940, King Carol of Rumania paid his first official visit to Bessarabia since his accession to the throne, and in the course of a speech emphasized Romania's determination to defend that province and all her frontiers against aggression. Above, King Carol is seen with M. Tatarascu, the Prime Minister, arriving at Constanza.

Photo: Keystone
to bring into alignment the policies of at least two of the Great Powers, namely, Britain and Italy. Both were adverse to an extension of Bolshevist influence in the Balkans; while Stalin's approach to Rumania's oil wells could hardly be welcome even to Germany. Fascist with the joint Nazi-Bolshevist threat, the movement for Balkan unity against aggression gained new impetus. The prospects of such unity depended largely on Italy, and a survey of Italian policy will, therefore, serve to explain many of the diplomatic shuffles behind the Balkan scenes.

In the early stages of the Second Great War the attitude of Italy, the only major non-belligerent, was anxiously watched by the smaller countries exposed to influence in the Balkans. Italy deemed it in her interest to keep out of war and to reduce to a minimum the hindrances caused to her economy. At the same time, with the Allies and Germany heavily engaged elsewhere, the war presented to her an opportunity for extending influence in the Balkans. She first endeavoured to dispel the suspicion created by the invasion of Rumania a few months before, and withdrew her troops from the Albanian-Greek frontier—a gesture much welcomed by Greece. The next move was forced on Italy by reported Soviet activities on the Hungarian frontier, following Russia's invasion of Poland, and later of Finland. Although Mussolini did not openly commit himself to sharing the sympathies of the Italian people for the Fins, fear of Bolshevist expansion in the Balkans led to a meeting of the Fascist Grand Council early in December, 1939, and a statement was issued.

The Council referred for the first time unequivocally to Italy's extended interests in the Danube and Balkan area, but Italy's ties with Germany were reaffirmed. No mention was made of Soviet Russia. This statement was interpreted by many observers to mean that Italy did not yet wish to drop her intimate Axis connexion with Germany, while it might still be useful in furthering her own untenanted aspirations; the same time, while she wished for Balkan unity against possible Russian aggression in south-eastern Europe, Italy did not wish this unity to be attained under the aegis of Turkey, now allied to Britain. Italian policy was carried a step further in a speech by Count Ciano, the Foreign Minister, towards the middle of December, 1939. He claimed that Italy, through the annexation of Albania, had become a Balkan Power and that her interest in the Peninsula was justified in history, by geography, and by tradition. After reviewing the friendly relations enjoyed by Italy with each Balkan Power and with Hungary, he said that it was in their common interest to maintain peace in that area. Italy, therefore, with deep sympathy every effort by those small nations to settle their differences peaceably, and was willing to give advice and help.

At the same time, Count Ciano discounted the utility of forming a Balkan bloc, possibly because its formation would be impossible without Turkey, and Turkey's policy was in harmony with that of Britain. Nor could such a bloc be formed without Hungarian participation, and so long as Hungary insisted on satisfaction of her claims against Rumania (especially regarding Transylvania), unity could not be obtained. As it became ever more apparent that Germany was deeply involved with Russia, whose Bolshevist ideals were the antithesis of Italian Fascism, Italian policy seemed...
to veer more towards that of the Allies.

In January, 1940, Count Czakó, the Hungarian Foreign Minister, interviewed Count Ciano in Rome, and it was reported that Italy used her influence to induce Hungary to adopt a more friendly attitude towards Rumania, even to the extent of temporarily abandoning territorial claims. It was also reported, though officially denied, that a pact in the nature of a military alliance had been concluded between Italy and Hungary, extensively with the aim of checking Russian expansion southwards. Italy's policy still remained opportunistic, however. A typical Italian comment on the Ciano-Czakó talks was:

"Italy, unlike certain Great Powers (i.e. Britain and France), harbours no aggressive designs against Russia, but merely intends to check that expansion of Communism which annuls the civilization, order and health of Europe. Let Soviet Russia remain quiet within her own frontiers, and Italy will have no reason to oppose her."

Italy thus kept a free hand in her relations with the Balkan countries and with Germany and the Allies. If it turned out that the danger from Russia and German-Rumanian friendship should be overestimated or should recede, she would still remain unfettered in her actions.

The two countries most concerned with Italian policy were Hungary and Rumania, although the absence of a united front against aggression was a menace to all. Hungary's hatred of Bolshevism was deep and sincere. The atrocities and depredations of Hungarian Bolshevists under the short-lived regime of Bela Kun in 1919 had left an impression which two decades of orderly Government had failed to eradicate. The presence of Russian troops on Hungary's Carpathian frontier, combined with Hungarian sympathy for Finland—a nation with which Magyars are racially connected—were the two outstanding factors in the recent history of the nation. Just as deep, however, was Hungary's sense of grievance against Rumania, whose soldiers, in the chaos that followed the collapse of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, had invaded Hungary, pillaged the land and—so Hungarians maintained—seized large stretches of territory in defiance of justice and the orders of the Allied Supreme War Council.

Hungary's policy since the Russian invasion of Finland had been paradoxical. Her fear of the Russian "wolf" and ire of her oppressed Rumanian neighbour (to whom she had lost the greater part of Transylvania in 1919) have been compared to the behaviour of a little girl who, menaced by the wolf, says: "Please, wolf, let me eat my cake (Transylvania) first." The Russian danger was the most pressing. Six days after the invasion of Finland, Graf Teleki, the Hungarian Premier, while emphasizing the continuity of Hungary's foreign policy, stated that the equipment of the army had been completed in numerous respects and that the armaments industry had reached a desirable capacity.

"A new war has broken out between the courageous Finnish nation, which is related to us, and Russia," Graf Teleki declared. "It is a war quite separate from the war between Germany and France and Britain, but which, nevertheless, as it affects the solidarity of European peoples, can be described as complementary. This war and the battle of our Finnish brothers fill us with concern and sorrow."

The Minister forecast great changes in Hungarian markets.

Hungary's claims on Rumania, temporarily in the background when the Russian menace was first realized, came again to the fore as Finland's successful resistance caused Hungarian military experts to revise their opinion of Russia's military might. Hungary began to feel more confident of defending alone, or with Italy's help, her frontier in the Carpathians. Hungarian circles professed not to be concerned for Hungary's fate but for that of Rumania, which had lost Poland as a neighbour and had received Russia instead. What would happen if the Russians should invade Rumania, and Rumanian resistance collapsed?

That experts argued, would bring Russia to the Hungarian frontier on two sides; and while Hungary would do nothing to weaken Rumania's defence, it was plain that the satisfaction of Hungarian claims in Transylvania would also give Hungary a strong, natural line of defence in the Transylvanian mountain barrier.

Hungary's reaffirmation of her friendship with Italy did not allay suspicions in the Balkans that her closest ties were with Germany. It was conceivable that in certain circumstances Germany would give Hungary more effective aid
CAPITALS OF FOUR BALKAN STATES

Above—left, the modern cathedral of St. Alexander Nevski at Sofia, capital of Bulgaria; right, the ancient Acropolis, dominating the city of Athens, lovely capital of Greece. Below—left, ministerial buildings in Belgrade, capital of Yugoslavia; right, modern architecture in the Boulevard Bratiana in Rumania's capital, Bucharest.

Photo: Durie Leigh; Paul Popper; M. Henchos
BALKAN BREEDING GROUNDS OF DISCONTENT

The map above shows areas shaded which gave rise to considerable friction among adjoining states. After the First Great War Rumania was given Transylvania (formerly Hungarian), the Bukovina (formerly Austrian), and Bessarabia (formerly Russian). Part of her south-eastern province of Dobruja had been taken from Bulgaria during the Second Balkan War of 1913. The Dodecanese (Alexandropolis) district of Greece is also the subject of territorial claims by Bulgaria.

in recovering her lost province than would Italy. It was not lost on observers that the discovery of a "separatist" conspiracy in Transylvania was followed by the repetition by Graf Teleki of Hungary's revisionist claims. Further, Balkan countries wondered, if a military alliance had been concluded between Italy and Hungary, how Italy could give material aid to Hungary with whom she had no common frontier. The obvious route would be through a suspicious Yugoslavia, on whom Hungary also had territorial claims. Hungary's contribution to unity in south-eastern Europe seemed to grow smaller as the present war progressed. Hungary's unsatisfied territorial claims did not intimidate King Carol of Rumania. In many respects the position of his country was the most unhappy. In the north was Russia, with claims on the Rumanian province of Bessarabia. In the east was Hungary. In the south Bulgaria vented her grievances regarding the Dobruja territory, which she had received by the treaty of Bucharest in 1918 but had lost to Rumania in 1920. Russian soldiers now stood on the old frontier of Poland, a former ally of Rumania. The Germans were pressing exorbitant economic demands on Rumania. British, French and Italian agents were active. But through the first three months of the Second Great War Rumania presented an outwardly calm façade.

In the middle of November Germany sent a strong economic mission to Rumania under the leadership of Dr. Clodius, to obtain increasing quantities of Rumanian oil and to solve the difficulties of Danubian transport. Soon afterwards Lord Lloyd, President of the British Council, arrived, with the reported aim of strengthening Anglo-Rumanian relations and furthering the establishment of a Balkan bloc under the leadership of Turkey. Visits of Rumanian diplomats to Turkey and Yugoslavia were frequent. Rumania's resources were of supreme importance for the German economy. Six months before war broke out Germany had signed a five-year economic agreement with Rumania which, in the words of the German negotiator, Dr. Wohltat, "comprises almost the whole field of economy of the two nations." The markets of the two countries were made complementary to each other. But the outbreak of war interrupted the plan.

NAZIS' COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER

Dr. Karl Clodius (below left), Nazi economic expert, travelled from one country to another in an effort to secure more of the raw materials Germany needed so badly, in particular oil from Rumania, tank cars laden with which are seen below at Foseti, ready for transport to the Reich.

Photos, Planet News; E.N.A.
quite apart from the fact that King Carol, a shrewd monarch, had no wish to "put all his eggs in one basket," and did not watch with complacency the gearing of the Rumanian market to the German war machine.

The first concern of Dr. Clodius was to obtain a more favourable rate of exchange for the German mark in relation to the Rumanian lei. He pointed to the fact that the lei had decreased in value, to which Rumanian experts countered that the prices of Rumanian products, owing to war demands, had increased. In ordinary times it paid Rumania to exchange her agricultural and mineral products for German machinery, but now that world prices of wheat and oil had risen, she preferred foreign currency to German industrial products, which she could then buy cheaper elsewhere. Germany pressed her demands so roughly that the Rumanian Cabinet, under the premier, Argeleianu, resigned.

Dr. Clodius made a hurried departure from Bucharest, and though, when he returned some days afterwards, he was able to get an agreement, it was on less favourable terms than he had hoped. Instead of getting 45 per cent of Rumania's oil production, only one-third was allotted to Germany. The rate of the lei was fixed at 49:50 to the mark instead of 75, as Dr. Clodius had demanded. To get the materials to Germany, Dr. Clodius offered to supply 180 locomotives and 3,000 wagons. One of the allegations of the German delegation was that Rumania's oil production had decreased in recent years owing to deliberate sabotage by French and British companies, which, as previously mentioned, owned a large part of the capital invested in the oil industry. The Germans also alleged that Anglo-French interests had purchased most of the Rumanian petrol. A successful Anglo-French economic action was the leasing and laying up of all available Danube lighters. Since the Germans were dependent on the Danube route, they had to pay fantastic prices for the hire of the few lighters left.

In peacetime Rumania's chief exports to Germany had gone via the Black Sea and Mediterranean, but the British blockade put a stop to this. The direct railway routes between Rumania and Germany were said to be in a deplorable state owing to neglect by the Russians, through whose territory, acquired from the Poles, the lines ran. (This neglect may have been a matter of deliberate policy.) While negotiating with the Germans King Carol had to face Russian demands. The "Communist International," the Moscow organ of the Comintern, declared on December 6, 1939:

"A policy of minority oppression and exploitation of the masses exists in Transylvania, Bessarabia, the Dobruja and Bukovina. The Communists urge all workers to take up the decisive fight against the agitators, reactionaries and Chauvinists who inflame the Romanian people against the oppressed minorities."

The same newspaper referred to the necessity for a mutual assistance pact between Russia and Rumania on the lines of those signed by the Baltic States.

"Doubtless," said the paper, "the peace lessons of Russia's pact with the Baltic States have not been lost on Rumania. Rumania has been able to convince herself that in the war between Germany and Poland the Western Powers could not help their Ally."

King Carol's answer to these demands and to those of Hungary was practical and to the point. It was announced...
Italian influence made some progress in Rumania during the first three months of the Second Great War, partly by the conclusion of a subsidiary trade agreement, but especially because of Italy's reported counsels to Hungary to use moderation in her claims on Rumania, and of her anti-Bolshevik stand.

Generally speaking, Rumania's sympathies and interests were with the Allies. She was not, however, prepared to make territorial concessions to either Hungary or Bulgaria to further the cause of Balkan unity. Rumania, as a member of the Balkan Entente, the other members of which were Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, sympathized with and had everything to gain by a common front against aggression, but had also to take into account her proximity to Russia and Germany, while remembering that Britain, who had pledged aid in the event of German aggression, was much farther away.

Bulgaria, the smallest Balkan country, had a very strong strategic position. Situated between Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Greece, her friendship was important for all four powers. Since Turkey's control of the Dardanelles was unavailable by frontal attack, Bulgaria held the back door to the Straits and her value as an ally to an aggressive power, either Russia or Germany, was unquestionable. Bulgaria's attitude to a united Balkan front had been consistent ever since the war of 1914–18. She had renounced the use of force for the satisfaction of her claims, especially as regards the Dobruja, but was not prepared to lend support to the united front until they were satisfied, or until at least some promise of satisfaction had been given. Her Government's policy was further complicated by the facts that King Boris was linked through marriage with the Royal Family of Italy; that the Bulgarians were pro-Russian in sentiment, and that economically the country was largely dependent on Germany.

On the other hand, while Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia were convinced of the wisdom of satisfying, at least in part, Bulgaria's claims on Rumania, they wished to know that these demands would stop there.

Bulgarian Claims

Premier, in the summer of 1936, reaffirming Bulgaria's claims to her 1913 frontiers, made the three countries reluctant to take the initiative. Within Bulgaria's 1913 frontiers had been included territories of Yugoslavia and Greece. In particular, by cession of part of Thrace to Greece after the war of 1914–18 she had lost her former coastline on the Aegean. Russia's invasion of Finland was a shock to much of the pro-Russian sentiment among Bulgaria's hard-working and democratic peasants, but did not materially alter their regard for their great Slav brother, who had assisted them so often in the past.

News of the war with Finland received scant publication in the press. Russia showed her appreciation by concluding a three-year commercial and navigation pact with Bulgaria on January 5, providing for greatly increased trade between the two countries. This treaty...
RUMANIA STANDS IN READINESS

That Rumania envisaged the worst that might befall her, and prepared to cope with any possibility of aggression, is shown by the photographs in this page, which depict: top, rows of barbed-wire entanglements erected along the frontier facing Russia; left centre, metal huts, capable of electrification, in a section of the concrete barriers which line Rumania's frontier; right centre, an enormous tank barrier in Eastern Rumania; bottom left, men and women waiting to pass through a gas chamber in Bucharest.

Photos, Wide World; Kyoptna
also promised Bulgaria some relief from German economic domination.

Britain meanwhile concerned herself with efforts to bring Bulgaria into a Balkan bloc, and it was believed to be largely due to Britain’s initiative that Turkish troops concentrated on Bulgaria’s southern frontier in the early weeks of the war were withdrawn. In the placing of these troops Turkey had been acting up to her obligations to Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania, with whom she was allied in the Balkan Entente and who might have been threatened by active Bulgarian revisionist operations. Britain’s conciliatory efforts were crowned by the visit to Sofia of M. Menemencoglu.

"Honest, Benito, we’re only warming our hands."

From the "Evening Standard" London
Turkish Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Both countries exchanged assurances of their desire to respect each other’s integrity, while a Bulgarian declaration that Bulgaria desired neutrality was interpreted to mean that she would not identify herself too much with Russian policy. But Russian propaganda against the Allies remained active, and the question whether Bulgaria would co-operate in a Balkan bloc was left unanswered for the time being.

Even more cautious than the policy of Rumania was that of Yugoslavia, a kingdom formed after the First Great War by the fusion of Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Bosnia (formerly parts of Austria-Hungary) with Serbia and Montenegro. The sympathies of most Yugoslavs were undoubtedly with the Allies, but the by no means satisfactory state of the country’s defences and the existence of common borders with Germany and Italy called for great circumspection on the part of her statesmen. Especially after Italy had occupied Albania was Yugoslavia susceptible to Italian policy, and her fluctuating attitude towards the formation of a Balkan bloc varied with Italy’s own attitude. Yugoslavia was also sensitive to Hungary’s claims, the moderation of which in recent months she hoped to bring about to Hungarian influence on Hungary. The position of Yugoslavia was further complicated by internal differences between Croats and Serbs, by economic commitments to Germany, and by the presence of unruly elements in Macedonia and elsewhere whose passions could be worked on by interested Powers. Following frequent contacts with other Balkan diplomats M. Cincar-Markowitch, the Yugoslav Foreign Minister, in January defined his country’s policy as follows:

"Yugoslavia has upheld the principle that she must maintain good relations with all Great Powers and must exclude all quarrels with neighbours which might lead to an international conflict. Yugoslavia has no claims on foreign countries and has no real interest in those questions which have caused war between the Great Powers. In this sense, Yugoslavia will support any attempts to remove reasons for conflict between the Danube and Balkan Powers, but the success of these attempts is dependent on many circumstances. Yugoslavia is determined to maintain strictly her neutral policy."

Yugoslavia’s cautiousness led even to reluctance to agree to a meeting of the Balkan Entente Powers with whom she was allied, but this meeting was nevertheless fixed to be held in Belgrade on February 2, 1940.

Greece, like Yugoslavia, was intent on maintaining good relations with all her neighbours, but Britain’s guarantee of her integrity and her long-standing friendship with Turkey guided her policy. Count Ciano, the Italian Foreign Minister, declared in his speech in December (mentioned earlier in this narrative) that the creation of a joint Italo-Greek frontier through Italy’s conquest of Albania had served to clarify their general relations. Inspired Greek comment underlined the Italian Minister’s friendly reference to Greece, and the withdrawal of Italian troops from the Albanian frontier was warmly appreciated. But suspicion of Italy’s real intentions persisted throughout the Balkan countries. In Yugoslavia, for instance, Italian activities were thought to be responsible for unrest in Croatia and Slovenia.

Of all the Balkan countries, Turkey was the only one with a fixed and consistent policy. She maintained this in spite of a terrible earthquake which devastated her Anatolian provinces in December, 1939. Developments in Turkey following the conclusion of the Anglo-Turkish pact, her reactions to Russia’s attacks on Finland, and German efforts to create difficulties between Turkey and Russia are the subject of a separate Chapter in this History.

BALKAN STATESMEN IN CONFERENCE

Above, Herr von Ribbentrop is seen in conversation with the then Bulgarian Prime Minister, M. Kloseinoff, on the occasion of the latter’s official visit to Berlin in July, 1939. Below is a scene at the Little Entente Conference in February, 1939. In the front row, from left to right, are Dr. Markovic of Yugoslavia; General Metaxas, Premier of Greece; Dr. Sarajegli, Turkish Foreign Minister; and M. Gainocu, Rumanian Foreign Minister.
MASS COLONIZATION OF LIBYA

Libya was included in the national territory of Italy on October 26, 1931, and three days later colonization began with the sailing of 13 liners, carrying 20,000 immigrants, some of whom are seen above disembarking at Tripoli. Left, Marshal Balbo, Governor-General of the colony, is chatting with colonists before they embarked. Right, a typical Italian settler. Below, a newly built village in Libya, waiting to receive the colonists.

Photo, Keystone; Wide World; Associated Press
Chapter 55

ITALY'S POLICY AS A NON-BELLIGERENT: GUARDED AND NON-FRIENDLY NEUTRALITY

Italy's Declaration of Non-belligerency—Her Aborted Expansionist Designs—The Mediterranean Question—Preserving the Status Quo in the Balkans—Colonization of Libya: a Magnificent Experiment—Italy Needed Peaceful Years—"Shock" of the Nazi-Soviet Rapprochement—No Longer Bound to any Foreign Power

When, on September 1, 1939, the Allies were on the point of declaring war upon Germany, Fascist Italy announced dramatically that she would "take no initiative in hostilities." As the war slowly gathered momentum, this policy was several times reaffirmed, both in the Italian press and in the terse, blunt speeches of Mussolini. Had the struggle been confined to the Allies and Germany, Italy's attitude of detachment—made possible, it would appear, by a secret clause in the Rome-Berlin military alliance—would probably have continued unaltered. But neither she nor the world at large had reckoned with Russia. In attacking Poland, and later Finland, Russia aroused the indignation of the civilized world.

While sharing this indignation to the full, Italy's reaction was not confined to the moral plane. She sensed a threat to her vital interests. Not for nothing had she poured her legions into Spain during the Civil War; the "menace of Communism," which Hitler had used merely as an electioneering phrase, was as real to her now as then. She did not hesitate to make her position clear. "If Communism should attempt to advance towards zones of vital interest to Europe and Italy," declared Signor Gayula, Italy's leading journalist, "Fascism will know how to reply." And on January 17 Signor Muti, newly elected secretary of the Fascist Party, stated that "Italy may at any moment find herself under the necessity of taking up arms."

What importance could be attached to these declarations of policy on the part of Italian statesman and journalists?

Three Reasons

From the point of view of the Allies, Italy's attitude was vitally important for three reasons, which will be discussed in turn. Although Italy had fought with the Allies during the First Great War, she had always borne a grievance against her former comrades in arms. It is true that in 1916, the year of her entry into the war, she was promised certain territorial concessions by the Allies in return for her support, and that in 1919 she received much less than she was promised is also true. But the fault did not lie entirely with the Allies. Italy had been promised a large portion of the Turkish Empire, which was thought to be on the point of disintegration.

This disintegration certainly took place, but it came about in a way that no one had foreseen, and proved to be the liberation of the Turkish people, who had hitherto been smothered by the weight of their own possessions. Consequently, instead of a divided Turkey which could be neatly parcelled out, the Allies were confronted with a nation so resolutely united that the presence of the British fleet off Constantinople failed to overcome it. Disgruntled and

Ciano Surveys Italian Foreign Policy

Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, speaking to the Chamber of Fascists and Corporations on December 16, 1939. He summarized the development of Italian foreign policy since 1935, and explained Italy's attitude of "non-belligerency," at the same time confirming that a clause in the Italo-German alliance absolved Italy from going to war for a considerable period of time.

Photo, Planet News
internally unsettled, Italy was obliged to renounce her hopes of increased colonial territory. But she did not forget the sacrifice that she had made. And when, after nearly twenty years, her attack upon Abyssinia roused the hostility of the members of the League, she was disposed more than ever to regard Britain and France, holders of the largest empires in the world, as the obstacles to her own imperial development. Hence, more grimly than cheerfully, she threw in her lot with Germany, the other great European power which considered herself humiliated. And thus there came into being that uneasy and unequal partnership, the Rome-Berlin Axis.

In spite of the conquest of Abyssinia and the seizure of Albania, Italy still regarded herself as a "have-not" nation. Her "aspirations" (for thus she termed her demands) could be summed up in three words: Tunisia, Jibuti, and Suez. During the early part of 1939 Italian agitation for Tunisia and Jibuti reached so strident a pitch that France, who had held these territories since the end of the 18th century, was obliged to take elaborate precautions. With a rapidity which must have surprised the Fascists, troops were dispatched to Jibuti, and a series of fortifications were constructed along the Libyan frontier on the model of the Maginot Line. Thereafter the agitation diminished in intensity, to be overlaid towards the end of 1939 by events of much greater moment.

For the time being, therefore, Italy's expansionist designs were at a standstill. But Mussolini was always a statesman of the utmost shrewdness. He knew when to remain silent, and for how long at a time. And there was no doubt that he saw in this Second Great War a magnificent opportunity for his country. Little as Italy might wish to participate in the actual hostilities and her people had had their fill of wars—she was not averse to participating in the Peace Conference. This time she would see that, so far as her own interests were concerned, justice was done. From the formation of the New Europe Italy, in Signor Gayda's words, "does not intend to be absent." And that was not all. "A new Europe can be built," he declared, "only when Italy's territorial claims are satisfied."

The second reason why Italy's attitude in the war was important from Great Britain's point of view was that both Great Britain and Italy were Mediterranean powers. It is true that Italy was accustomed to look upon the Mediterranean as "her sea," and that she frequently resented the proximity of foreign naval bases to her long and highly vulnerable coastline. But in spite of occasional expressions of annoyance in the popular press, she was well aware that in actual fact the Mediterranean was far from being the "indivisible heritage." she declared it to be; and upon this recognition was based the first law of her foreign policy, which was never to provoke unduly the hostility of Britain. From one point of view Italy's naval power in the Mediterranean was strong. In the east she possessed the Dodecanese Islands and Rhodes; in the south, the Libyan bases of Tobruk, Bengazi, and Tripoli; in the centre, the

ITALIAN DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST FRANCE

During the latter part of 1938 and beginning of 1939 violent anti-French demonstrations took place in Italy. On the right, outside the French Consulate in Milan, students brandishing placards claiming Tunisia, Corsica, Nice and Savoy for Italy. Below is the vast crowd in the Piazza Vittorio Veneto, Turin, listening to a speech by Mussolini on May 14, 1939—a speech punctuated by cat-calls against France and cries of "We want Tunisia!"

Photo: Wide World; Keystone
fortified island of Pantelleria; and in the west, the goodwill of the new Spain which she had helped to establish. In passing, we may note that the possession of Tunisia would have given her the great base of Bizerta, thus enabling her to control a "gate" across the middle of the Mediterranean.

But from another point of view Italy's position was not so powerful. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, and Egypt, to say nothing of the bases in French North Africa, were formidable deterrents to a potential aggressor. And in consequence of the Anglo-Turkish Alliance Italy's power in the eastern Mediterranean had been rendered almost negligible; Turkey could be relied upon to look after the Dodecanese Islands. Nevertheless, Italy's strength was sufficient to give her considerable bargaining power: and it would not be wise to underestimate the effect of Italian submarines in a sea which is better adapted to submarine than to any other kind of warfare. That Italy intended to throw in her lot with the Allies straight away was unthinkable; she might never come into the war at all; but unless by some calamity the British Navy were sent to the bottom, or by a similar calamity Italy ceased to be governed by a statesman as shrewd as Mussolini, it was safe to say that Italy was not likely to be a party to a coalition against Britain.

Thirdly, Italy's interests in the Balkans (which are examined at length in another chapter) were intimately bound up with those of the Allies, who were as anxious as she was that aggression in that area, whether on the part of Russia or Germany, should be prevented. It was Italy's claim that, as a result of the conquest of Albania, she had become the "greatest Balkan power": a hint, perhaps, to Turkey, who had been president of the Balkan Entente (consisting of Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Rumania) since 1914. Italy's diplomatic aim, if not exactly to form a Balkan bloc, was so to compose the differences between the individual Balkan states as to render them capable of unification should any
ITALY'S STRATEGIC POSITION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

The map below shows Italian spheres of influence in the Mediterranean. The Dodecanese Islands were occupied by Italy in 1912, during her war with Turkey over Tripoli. In 1926 she leased the islands to Greece, but two years later repudiated the cession. The fortified island of Pantelleria occupies an important strategic position. Above, units of the Italian fleet are seen at sea during manoeuvres.

Photo: Wide World

The Catholic Church was not likely to welcome the spread of materialistic atheism in Europe; and, although the Fascist Party contained many anti-clerical members, it had never counterenanced the ruthless persecution of religion for which the Nazis had made themselves infamous. But Communism was distrusted in Italy for other reasons than its incompatibility with Catholicism. Communism represented a complete break with tradition; Fascism, whatever its extravagances, was a return to tradition, the tradition of ancient Rome, upon which a great part of the European order is based. Consequently, Italy saw in Communism a menace to the civilization of Europe, of which, rightly or wrongly, she considered herself to be the guardian.

It would be a mis-statement as well as an understatement to say that Italy's attitude, which was perhaps best described as one of alert non-belligerence, depended solely upon the factors mentioned. Italy was not merely waiting to see "which way the cat would jump"; she was occupied with positive tasks of her own, tasks of which the full significance was not likely to become apparent for some time. In this respect the Fascist government had always differed from the Nazi government. It is safe to say that nothing undertaken by Nazi Germany since 1933 had been done without reference to her gigantic programme of rearmament; the Autolahn, the Labour Camps, even the Strength Through Joy movement had each had a military significance. Italy on her part was no
packist nation. Indeed, Count Ciano, the Foreign Minister, pointed out in his review of Italian policy on December 14, 1939, that since 1911 his country had been for more years at war than at peace. And the Duce himself once described Italy as being in a state of "perpetual mobilization." But, unlike Germany, Italy had devoted her resources to other ends than those directly associated with war. Not merely had she reclaims such plague spots as the Pontine Marshes, building towns where once had been wilderness; she had undertaken what was at once the most gigantic and the most novel colonial experiment in history—the mass colonization of Libya. When, in the September of 1938, Marshal Balbo, Libya's energetic governor, led the first 20,000 colonists across the Mediterranean, Europe was in process of recovering from the first major war scare since 1914. Admittedly, the experiment did not pass unnoticed in the world's press; but it was treated as no more than an experiment, and an experiment which, in view of its costliness, was not likely to be repeated.

Italy's declaration that, far from having completed her scheme, she intended to continue it for at least five years, was received in most quarters with polite scepticism. But when, true to schedule, a further consignment of 20,000 peasants was dispatched to Libya in September, 1939, the world, though convulsed anew with war, began to sit up and take notice. Here was a national undertaking which involved just that element of adventure and pride so often lacking in peacetime activities. Here were initiative, organization and determination devoted to other ends than those of mere destruction.

Nor was the experiment distinguished merely by its magnitude. Most remarkable of all were the preparations undertaken in the reception area before arrival of the colonists. Each village had been completed down to the smallest detail, so that, waking up on the morning after their arrival, the whole community went immediately to work. In a sense there was little of the "pioneer spirit" about this enterprise, for it was only the government that was the pioneer. And it must be admitted that rarely in modern times has a government been so intent on organizing a project so uncertain—many would say unsafe—from an economic point of view. According to Count Ciano's exposition of Italian foreign policy, not

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**DICTATORS IN A DILEMMA**

Anti-Russian feeling ran even higher than usual in Italy during the Russo-Finnish war, and the photograph below shows Italian students demonstrating their sympathy for Finland outside the Finnish Legation in Rome. Under such conditions it was little wonder that the German-Soviet Pact did not make for a smooth running of the Berlin-Rome Axis, and the fact that Italian supplies for Finland were held up by Germany is commented upon in a witty manner in the cartoon above.

*Photo: Wide World*
the least important reason for Italy's non-belligerent attitude was her incomplete military preparedness. But the Foreign Minister strenuously denied that Italy's decision to remain outside the conflict was dictated by this consideration alone. Nevertheless, he admitted that, "as a result of the great consumption of means caused by the fighting of two wars" (in Abyssinia and in Spain), Italy needed a period of time to recuperate. For this reason he informed Ribbentrop at their meeting at Milan in May, 1939, that, as regards joint military action, Italy was not prepared to take up arms for at least three years. He then quoted Ribbentrop as saying that the Reich was in need of further military preparation, which might occupy anything between four and five years. Was this deception, or did Ribbentrop really believe that, at the last moment, the Allies would fail in their pledge to Poland, and that a major war would thus be avoided? Ciano did not press the point, but he was careful to make it.

Referring to the "identity of opinion" of the German and Italian governments both as regards the situation then prevailing and as regards "plans for the future," Ciano was at pains to deny that the two countries "had a programme for disturbing the world's peace with threatening or aggressive proposals." But he also made it clear that Germany's "rapprochement with Russia—which, in spite of the "com-

Germany intended to go her own way whatever the feelings of her partner. No protests against the Russian pact on Italy's part would have been effective at such short notice as she was given; and this short notice was a proof of the Reich's small regard for her opinion.

That the Italian government reacted to the Russian pact and later to the Russian invasion of Poland and Finland in the most unfavourable manner has already been shown; but it preferred under the circumstances to imply, rather than to assert, its displeasure. The government was silent. The press, though under strict government control, was more vocal, hinting unofificially what could not be uttered officially. Thus the "Tribuna," observed, in the course of an article on the international situation, that Italy "was no longer bound to any foreign power." Marshal Balbo's paper at Milan denounced Russia in terms similar to those used by Dr. Goebbels before his sudden "change of heart." And the "Avvenire" (January 29, 1940) expressed its scepticism at the German denial of the Vatican's broadcast disclosures of Nazi atrocities in Poland. Officially Italo-

NETS TO CATCH LETHAL 'FISH'

On the Italian quay sides are seen some of the steel nets which are used to guard the entrances of Italian ports against the entry of hostile submarines. These shown in the photograph have been taken up for overhaul and repair.
AXIS POWERS SIGN MILITARY PACT

The military alliance between Germany and Italy was embodied in a Treaty signed in Berlin on May 22, 1939, by Count Ciano and Herr von Ribbentrop, who are seen above shaking hands after the signing of the pact. Signor Ciano revealed, on December 16, that "Italy had let it be known that a minimum period of three years was necessary to bring the preparations of her war equipment up to the desired maximum level."

Photo, Keystone
RIVER PLATE BATTLE AS SEEN FROM A BRITISH WARSHIP

In these two pages are shown a unique series of photographs of the River Plate naval battle, taken by a seaman of the Royal Navy who was on board the British battleship. These depict the actual course of the battle, showing the British ships in action, the German battleships firing on the British, and the British ships returning fire. The battle was fought on December 9, 1939, between the British battleship HMS Hood and the German battleship Bismarck. The British ships were able to hit the German ship with several salvos, and the battle ended with the destruction of the German ship. The British ships were able to escape and return to base without further damage.

Photo: Illustrated Press
The first contingent of Canadian troops arrived in England on December 17, 1939, after a sea crossing of the Atlantic under the protection of the Royal Navy. Following the evacuation of British troops, they entered service with the British Expeditionary Force. The contingent landed safely in Britain on January 1, 1940.
the Pact with Germany implied any weakening of the Axis would have been to indulge in the most dangerous wishful thinking.

It was indeed true that the Fascist party contained many admirers of England: Count Grandi, late Ambassador in London; Balbo, restless and vigorous governor of Libya; even perhaps the Duce himself.

On the other hand, there were Fascist extremists to whom the British Empire and the French Republic were nothing but bloated, Jew-ridden plutocracies, engaged in a ruthless and unprovoked war of extermination against a martyred Germany. There were violent newspapers, such as the "Regina Fascista," which did not hesitate to repeat the most shameful of Nazi lies, such as that German prisoners were systematically tortured in British concentration camps. And there were other prominent officials (among whom might have been counted Farinas; Starnes, and possibly Ciano himself) who, if not quite so unscrupulous in their hatred, feared that another victory for the Allies would automatically mean another Versailles and therefore another humiliation for Italy.

That such suspicions were entirely without foundation it was the task of British propaganda unremittingly to drive home. There was the basis of long standing friendship between Italy and England which needed to be strengthened.

Whichever policy the Duce might see fit to adopt—whether he should eventually throw his lot with the Allies, whether he should prefer to assist them indirectly by sending arms and men to Finland or the Balkans, or whether, finally, he should endeavour to maintain an attitude of splendid isolation—it could not be supposed for a moment that he would renounce, except as a temporary expedient, the "claims" to which he had so often given voice. That he would renounce the methods which he had hitherto employed in advertising these claims—methods which he had copied somewhat slavishly from the Nazis—was most improbable. And no doubt those demands which were based upon reason and justice would thereby have greater chance of satisfaction. The Duce's dream was a revival in all its splendour and power of the Roman Empire in Africa; the absorption of Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, the Sudan, and Abyssinia, into one mighty territory, where Italian colonists could be settled in their thousands, and the new culture of Fascism could be super-imposed upon foundations laid by Imperial Rome. That the New Rome could not be built in a day he was only too well aware; but, to quote his own words, "Fascism can afford to wait."

That was the chief difference between Fascism and Nazism; Nazism could not afford to wait; its patience was continually being exhausted. But Fascism waited with uncasing vigilance for a chance to further its plans of empire. Mussolini, with all his good work for Italy to his credit, could not be acquitted of grandiose personal ambitions and a somewhat Machiavellian capacity for time-serving opportunism.
Chapter 56

THE EMPIRE MUSTERS ITS FORCES TO THE AID OF THE MOTHERLAND

"His Majesty's Dominions" — Freedom and Safety Within the British Commonwealth — The Empire Conference in London — Utilizing the Man-power of the Colonial Empire — The Empire Air Training Scheme — India and the Defence of the Empire — The Second Australian Imperial Force — Canadian and New Zealand Air Force Contingents — The Dominion Navies

The way in which the peoples of the British Empire ranged themselves with the Mother Country at the outbreak of war, as described in Chapter 29, provided one of the most inspiring themes of the first phase of the conflict, and the importance of the theme may be said to have increased as the weeks went by.

The war became more complicated and unforeseen in its developments, throwing the chief strain upon national morale. As the "blitzkrieg" strategy employed by Germany like a bully against her smaller neighbours failed to materialize against her strongly allied opponents in the West, it gradually became apparent that possibly Germany was playing for time, while still hoping to produce political complications in her favour by means of propaganda. The only material advantage that it seemed possible for her to gain by delaying the real trial of strength was in some elaborate development of her alliance with Soviet Russia. The Nazis may have been hoping for much larger Russian supplies to counteract eventually the effects of the Allied blockade. The preponderance of expert opinion outside Germany pointed out that Russia was not a great exporting country, and that her transport was almost as inefficient as in the old Tsarist days. When a political attack on Finland by Soviet Russia was followed by a military onslaught, evidently with German connivance, the far-reaching extent of the agreement between the two Totalitarian governments was reluctantly realized, and the prospect of German infiltration and expert control of Russian industry and transport began to seem less unlikely.

The Allied experts were reduced to prophesying a long delay for the fulfillment of German hopes, so that Germany's prospects of winning the war could not be improved by her eastern alliance. But in so far as such hopes explained the Nazis' postponement of any large-scale action, the strategic situation as it developed during the rest of 1939 became more clearly dependent upon the ultimate effective resources of the belligerents, and, of course, upon the quality of their morale.

ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES VISIT FRANCE

This group was taken in Paris during a visit of Dominion and Indian representatives to France. It shows, left to right: Mr. P. Fraser, Deputy Prime Minister of New Zealand; Mr. Anthony Eden; General Ganshin; Mr. T. Creer, Canadian Minister of Mines; Mr. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; Mr. R. G. Casey, Australian Minister of Supply; Colonel Denys Reitz, South Africa's Minister for Native Affairs.

In such a perspective, and with a lengthened retrospect, ought we to view the British Empire, which was so rashly challenged by the Nazi Government. It was the ideal antagonist of Totalitarian tyranny and pan-German militarism. It can be seen in our longer retrospect as a slow and almost a natural growth, developing gradually from the old type of military empire into a preserve of the new world order for which the Allies had called a halt to ruthless violence in international affairs.

In the last century the British Empire began to reflect the changes in the political organization of mankind that were being brought about by scientific inventions, enormously increased power over natural resources, and the re-application of ancient conceptions of popular government. Only slowly did any realization of the potentiality of this Empire dawn upon its citizens. The extent of its territories first of all struck the imagination of commentators. The phrase, "His Majesty's dominions, on which the sun never sets" is over a century old. It was written by John Wilson ("Christopher North"), the Scottish essayist, in 1829, and thereafter was often echoed by politicians and writers. Tennyson gave the idea fresh currency,
while stressing the continued territorial acquisitions of Britain, in his Jubilee Ode to Queen Victoria, linking them with modern conceptions of commerce and the interchange of ideas:

Fifty years of over-broadening Commerce!
Fifty years of every-brightening Science!
Fifty years of ever-widening Empire!

Could he have looked forward another fifty years, the poet might have been glad to reserve his exclamation marks for yet more notable advances. But a somewhat Jingo phase set in towards the end of the last century, concurrently with growing envy on the part of belated European rivals of Britain, of whom Germany was soon to become the most dangerous. A hint of that phase survives in Benson's well-known "Land of Hope and Glory";

Wider still and wider, shall thy bounds be set.

Although the bounds of the Empire indeed continued to be extended, mainly as a consequence of Germany's defeat in the first Great War, the aspiration for territorial acquisition had been submerged by the more important considerations suggested by the Empire's variety and wealth. The open secret, unbelievable to militarist Powers, of the Empire's voluntary cooperation, was summarized in a speech broadcast on October 25, 1939, by Col. Denys Reitz, the first of the Empire representatives who arrived in London in the autumn for the Imperial Conference. He was explaining the peculiar position of South Africa and her apparently divided attitude when war broke out:

"In Great Britain, in Australia, and in New Zealand you have homogeneous British communities, speaking the same language and held together by the same historical traditions, whereas in South Africa the majority of our European population is of Dutch descent, speaking the Dutch or Afrikaans language. You must remember that in the past we fought two bitter wars against the British, I myself served for three years under arms against the British Empire, and I went into exile in a strange land rather than live under the British flag. But Great Britain, after defeating us in war, treated us with a generosity unknown in history and conferred on us an even greater measure of liberty than we had enjoyed under our own former Republics. Today, as a voluntary partner in the British Commonwealth, we are not only free, but far safer than we could hope to be if we were on our own with the amoral grab policy which is now trying to dominate the world. It would be premature for me to indicate what our military contribution to the war is going to be, but we have undertaken to protect with all our resources the land defences of the British naval base at Simonstown. Already we have interned all Nazi agitators who were making trouble."

At the end of October that was the attitude of most people in South Africa, which Germany regarded as the Empire's weak link and a probable neutral in war. A still more striking object lesson to Germany, and the rest of the world, of the meaning of the Imperial Commonwealth was the great Empire Conference.

With remarkable speed, considering the nature of the difficulties involved, the representatives of India and the Dominions had assembled in London and begun their discussions as November opened. It was less than a month before that Mr. Eden had announced in the House of Commons the decision to hold the conference. The appearance of
other leading delegates were Mr. T. Crerar, Minister of Mines and Resources, Canada; Mr. R. G. Casey, Minister of Supply, from Australia, and Mr. Peter Fraser, Deputy Prime Minister for the invalid Mr. Savage, from New Zealand.

The symbolic interest of this assembly of Empire representatives—and there had not been so many of them in London since the Coronation of the King two years before—was emphasized by the creation of a new precedent in the “Mother of Parliaments.” When Mr. Chamberlain addressed the House on November 2, to make his weekly report upon the progress of the war, the Dominion Ministers were allowed to sit with the M.P.s in four seats reserved for them next to the Dominions Gallery.

In apt and well-chosen words Mr. Chamberlain on that occasion stressed the value of the Conference, both symbolic and practical, to the well-being of the Empire:

“We have had in the last few days a striking demonstration of the united determination of the Empire.

“From Canada, from the Commonwealth of Australia, from New Zealand, from the Union of South Africa and from India have come Cabinet Ministers and representatives who have travelled thousands of miles in order to make personal contact with Ministers in this country and to see with their own eyes the gigantic efforts in which we are engaged.

“Discussions with these representatives have already begun, and we are considering with them how best to co-ordinate the contribution which each of us can make to our common task.

“As honourable members are aware, the Empire has already shown how generous and whole-hearted is its spirit of cooperation. The fuller knowledge which we shall now gain of the plans of the different Governments as a result of the presence of their Ministerial representatives here will be of great value to us. And in their turn we are confident that the Dominion Governments and the Government of India will find that the first-hand impressions of their representatives will afford them invaluable aid in gaining a fuller appreciation of our common problems, and of the best and quickest means of solving them.”

a representative of India—he was Sir Muhammad Zafarullah Khan—among the Dominion delegates served as a token of the official attitude to Dominion status for India as a mere deferred and not a repudiated aim of the British Government. South Africa was represented by the experienced Col. Denys Reitz, Minister for Native Affairs, and one of the simpler questions he brought with him was the best disposal of the Union’s gift of £1,000,000 worth of South Africa’s food supplies.

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**INDIAN TROOPS ARRIVE IN FRANCE**

The arrival of the first Indian soldiers in France for service on the Western Front was announced on December 17, 1939. Below, members of the Royal Indian Army Service Corps are seen watering their mules at canvas drinking troughs in a wood.
The Rally of the Colonies

Photographs in this page show: top left, Cypru R.A.S.C. recruits being drilled by an English N.C.O.; top right, an African soldier of the Royal West African Frontier Force; above, an A.R.P. gang at Freetown, Sierra Leone; right, members of the Straits Settlements R.N.V.R. in training; below, at Nukusotafa, in the Pacific Island of Tonga (Friendly Islands), a British Protectorate, the Queen of Tonga inspects her troops.

Photo, P.N.A.; Central Press; Fox
PART OF HONG KONG'S DEFENCES

A comprehensive programme for the defence of Hong Kong was drawn up long before war broke out, and the fortifications were brought up to date. The photograph above shows the submarine boom placed across the entrance of the harbour.

Photo, British Ministry of Information

"Equally striking is the whole-hearted cooperation that we are receiving from all parts of the Empire, including Burma, and from the Colonies."

The Premier then added a special tribute to the Colonial Empire, in the course of which he gave some indications of future policy:

"I have expressed before, on behalf of His Majesty’s Government, our great appreciation of the spontaneous messages of support which came immediately after the outbreak of war from every single territory of the Colonial Empire. We did not ask for these messages: the Colonies have not been forced into war by Great Britain against their will. The action of so many peoples of various races is a witness to their consciousness that a threat to Great Britain is equally a threat to them and well-being which has been assured to them under British rule.

"Although at the beginning the war effort of the Colonies will be mainly on the economic side, and every Colonial Government is doing its utmost to help us in the organization of supplies of essential raw material and foodstuffs, I should like to refer with gratitude to the numerous offices of personal service from residents in the Colonies.

"It is the intention of His Majesty’s Government to employ the man-power of the Colonial Empire in as many of the Colonies as may be most effective, and plans for doing this are being worked out.

"In many cases openings are already being provided in locally raised units. For example, in Africa the strength of the Royal West African Frontier Force has been doubled and that of the King’s African Rifles in East Africa more than trebled; and, in fact, the voluntary offers of service throughout the Empire have far exceeded our immediate requirements.

"As announced some time ago, British subjects from the Colonies and British protected persons who are in this country, including those who are not of pure European descent, are now placed for entry into the armed forces on the same footing as British subjects from the United Kingdom.

"Such is the nature of the help we are receiving from the Empire. Eagerly offered and accepted, it is a splendid example of free cooperation and unselfish self-sacrifice in a noble cause throughout the lands which owe allegiance to the King."

Another effective demonstration of Imperial unity arose out of the Conference. This was a visit made by the Empire representatives to the B.E.F. war zone in France between November 10 and 13. They toured the B.E.F. lines, talked with officers and men, and were shown the liaison system between the French and British armies. They interviewed M. Daladier and General Gamelin, and were able to talk informally with the British C-in-C, Viscount Gort, when they dined with him at the British Headquarters on the conclusion of their tour. The political importance of the visit was underlined by the fact that Mr. Anthony Eden accompanied the Empire delegates. Back in London, their conference, although little heard of by the public, was resumed, and it did much to prevent misunderstandings and make cooperation more effective. A good example of the frank exchange of information and suggestions was the revision of the Empire Air Scheme, whereby Canada had been allotted the role of central training and aircraft building pool for the Empire. The changes by no means reduced the scope of the scheme, but promised in the long run to extend it, while at the same time avoiding friction.

The chief change was in Australia’s new plan, to train the majority of the Australian personnel of the Empire Air Force in Australia, instead of sending them to Canada. The revised scheme, as announced by Mr. Menzies, the Prime Minister, in December, was an impressive one for a country with a total population of less than seven millions. The plan was to contribute to the Empire Air Forces 26,000 trained man—10,400 pilots and 15,600 observers, wireless operators and gunners—and to train the great majority of them in Australia within three years. This involved
borrowing many instructors from Great Britain. Great Britain had agreed to find also a big proportion of engines and planes required, but it meant a rapid development of Australia's aircraft industry and allied industries to meet her future requirements, although she had already placed orders with the American aircraft industry. Thirty-four new training schools had to be established as quickly as possible, and in spite of other heavy charges to be met by Great Britain, the cost to Australia over three years of the whole scheme was estimated at £50,000,000. When the scope of Australia's other preparations—especially the military—is taken into account, Mr. Menzies' description can be seen as the bare truth. He said:

"This scheme will play a decisive part in the war. It affords a remarkable example of the unity and strength of Great Britain and the Dominions, working together to obtain supremacy in the air. The original scheme was changed because it is impossible to overcome exchange difficulties, and also because the training of most of the men in Australia will contribute greatly to Australian security and our capacity to play our part in the Empire's war effort generally."

Australian personnel, sent over to man a previously ordered squadron of Short Sunderland flying-boats, had meanwhile begun intensive training in England. In the New Year Australia became the first Dominion to have a complete unit of its own air force serving in Europe, when this squadron of four-engined machines, with a range of 2,800 miles and a maximum speed of 210 m.p.h., was attached to the Coastal Command of Britain. But in Canada preparations were proceeding on a large scale. Besides the New Zealand and Australian crews who had already arrived, about 7,000 applications for recruitment to the Royal Canadian Air Force had been received in Canada—many of them from Americans—before the end of the year.

The Empire Air Training Scheme was eventually completed and signed in Ottawa on December 17, and a month later Air Vice-Marshal G. M. Croil, Chief of the Canadian Air Staff, was appointed head. Among the interesting terms of the scheme as published was a provision that squadrons manned by personnel from the Dominions would be identified by name with their own Dominion when moved to any theatre of war. New Zealand as well as Australia would undertake training of its own personnel besides sending men to Canada. The Canadian Government undertook to administer the joint training programme, which appeared to be getting behind scheduled dates.

South Africa had kept to its initial decision to train personnel only within South Africa. This had been based upon a policy of mainly passive assistance, but it was buttressed by the country's war against Germany's economic attack. Dr. Malan, the extremist Nationalist leader, and his irreconcilable General Hertzog, seemed to have the main backing of the country. Great enthusiasm was expressed when two bombers of South Africa's Coastal Command were responsible on December 2 for intercepting a German liner, the "Watnisi," south of Cape Point. The liner scuttled herself. (see illustration page 431), but the general feeling was to congratulate the Air Force on having had a chance of active participation in the war. The land defence forces were designed for service at home, but General Smuts

THEY SWEEP FOR MINES AT THE CAPE

Even faraway South Africa did not deem herself immune from German mines that might be laid by disguised and stealthy commerce raiders or by aircraft, and thus South African seamen swept the seas off the Union Coast every day. Below, a veteran member of the Cape Minersweeping Flotilla at the Seaward. Defence Force is keeping an eye on the sweep wire off Cape Town. Photo, Sport & General
The training of Australia's militia and of her volunteer force for overseas had proceeded with the consent of all parties, and when the Federal Parliament on December 10 adjourned until April, Mr. Curtin, the Labour leader, paid a popular tribute in the House of Representatives to the Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, for his leadership of the nation.

January 11, 1940, by Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan asserted India's willingness and ability to help even more effectively in this war than she had done in the First Great War, when her contributions included £146,200,000 in direct money and nearly 1,500,000 serving overseas. "India maintains in peacetime," he said, "a standing army of 150,000 of all arms, excluding British troops stationed in that country, and in war has a vast reserve of man power to draw upon. Regular units of the Indian Army are now serving overseas in Malaya, Aden and Egypt. The Army is being steadily expanded, and pilots and mechanics for the Air Force are for the first time to be recruited, commissioned and trained in India. The recruiting officers have been so overwhelmed with volunteers that the authorities have had to cry a halt and explain that it is impossible to utilize all offers of services at once."

CANADIANS AND THEIR LEADER

The Canadian contingents received a tremendous welcome when they arrived in Britain, and, below, members of the first party to reach these shores are seen acknowledging the cheers of crowds lining the quayside.

The right is Major-General A. G. McNaughton, Commander-in-Chief of the Canadian Overseas Force.
in wartime. In a speech at the end of the session, which was broadcast, Mr. Menzies reviewed the problems and work of the government, and concluded that with the development of Australia's Air Force, and the immense Allied naval superiority, it was practicable to send overseas the Second Australian Imperial Force, so that Australian soldiers would "once more be seen in Europe, giving the lie to the fatuous German hope that some fatal disease had overtaken British unity."

The moral was underlined by the arrival in Britain of Canada's first contingent of troops on December 17, followed by a second contingent a fortnight later. The public took to them promptly, and noticed how they sang the songs of 1914-18 as well as "Roll Out the Barrel." A New Zealand contingent, in the nature of an advance cadre, was already in training in England, and members of the Canadian Air Force were arriving to organize aerodromes and camps that would be occupied by the Canadian Air contingent.

As in other parts of the Empire, there had been plenty of lively political discussion arising out of war policies, but few people expected the coup carried out by the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, in January, 1940. Lord Tweedsmuir, the Governor-General, in what was to be his last speech from the throne, announced that the Canadian Government intended to appeal to the country against its critics, who accused it of lacking energy in war measures. The "snap election" at such a time was, of course, bitterly attacked by the Government's critics, the most important of whom was Dr. Manion, leader of the Conservatives, though the criticism which Mr. Mackenzie King appeared to have made the pretext for holding a general election had come from Mr. Mitchell Hepburn, Premier of Ontario, in the Ontario Legislature.

In the long view the most significant fact about Canada's domestic quarrel was that it revolved around the question whether the Government was carrying out war measures efficiently and energetically enough. There was no question among Canadians about the necessity and justice of the great war preparations being made by Canada. In spite of the severe criticism of such a step, the election was arranged, and Parliament was dissolved. The polling day was fixed for March 20, the reason given by the Government being the necessity to hold the election before any spring offensive on the Western Front, so that Canadian soldiers could record their votes while still in England. There was a widespread conviction in Canada that in the spring, probably in May, the war would enter on a more active phase. In spite of this political upheaval, the work of preparation went on actively and trained and equipped troops from Canada were to continue arriving in Britain during the following months.

In the muster of forces during the first five months of the war the Empire's navies played an important part which should not be forgotten. The safety of convoys and the maintenance of Imperial communications generally depended much upon their cooperation. The Royal Canadian Navy called up naval reservists and enlisted new recruits, who were in training at the two naval bases of Halifax and Esquimalt. When the war started Canada's fleet consisted of six modern destroyers and five minesweeping trawlers. In October the 1,390-ton, 36-knot flotilla leader "Kensington" was taken over from the Royal Navy and renamed "Assiniboine." By November some 40 vessels had been requisitioned for minesweeping and patrol work. On January 8 Mr. C. D. Howe, Minister of Transport, responsible
AUSTRALIA READY TO SPEAK WITH HER GUNS

The anti-aircraft guns of an Australian cruiser are here seen in action during naval manoeuvres which were watched by members of Australia’s war cabinet. The deeds of the British cruisers in the battle of the River Plate put the Australian crews on their mettle, and they showed themselves ready to emulate the victors of that successful engagement.

Photo, Associated Press

for the Canadian War Supply Board, described its activities in a broadcast address, and said that tenders had then been invited for some 75 craft for the Navy, ranging in size from 18-foot power dinghies to steel ships of the British whale-catcher design, and these new additions would involve an expenditure of about $17,000,000.

New Zealand had no sea-going fleet of her own, but in 1922 she had established a Volunteer Reserve with headquarters at Wellington, Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin. She was lent two cruisers of the Royal Navy, which formed the New Zealand Division, and were maintained at her expense—the 7,000-ton, 6-inch-gun cruisers “Achilles” and “Leander,” built in 1933-34. The “Achilles” was dispatched first to the Eastern Pacific and then to the South Atlantic, to assist in hunting down German raiders. This was how New Zealanders came to distinguish themselves early in the naval war. The “Achilles,” two-thirds of the crew of which were New Zealanders, was one of the light cruisers which engaged and crippled the pocket battleship “Admiral Graf Spee” off Montevideo, Uruguay, in December, 1939. New Zealand had by this date added to her resources an armed merchant cruiser and some minesweeping trawlers.

Australia’s was the strongest individual naval reinforcement, with six cruisers, a flotilla leader, four destroyers and two escort vessels; and additional building, especially of small craft, was in hand before 1940, besides the ships that had been requisitioned during the autumn for minesweeping and patrol work. A flotilla of fast motor torpedo boats was among the additions that were ordered to be built. Of the cruisers, two—the “Australia” and “Canberra,” built in 1927—were of the British Navy’s 8-inch-gun County Class. South Africa possessed no navy, but during the autumn organised a special “Seaward Defence Force” under Rear-Admiral G. W. Hallifax, including many trawlers and similar vessels for minesweeping and patrol work in conjunction with the reconnaissance squadrons of the air arm. The personnel of the “Seaward Defence Force” came from the South African Division of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, which numbered about 1,000 on the outbreak of war, and was quickly increased by enlistments during the autumn.

The Royal Indian Navy, consisting of five escort vessels and a patrol ship, was placed under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief East Indies, together with their crews, and thenceforward cooperated with the British Navy in
guarding vital Indian trade routes, constantly patrolling the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal, and the monsoon-swept waters of the Indian Ocean. As the Royal Indian Navy was responsible for the local defence of India's coast and ports, a large number of small craft were requisitioned and equipped during the autumn, and four more modern escort vessels had been ordered by the Navy. The small local defence craft were manned by the Royal Indian Naval Reserve and Royal Indian Naval Volunteer Reserve, which had been established early in 1939, together with a nucleus of Royal Indian Navy personnel. Apart from the Reserves, the seagoing strength of the Royal Indian Navy was about 170 officers and 1,500 men, recruited mainly from the Punjab and Konkan.

The gradual welding in united action and policy of lands within the British Commonwealth while the war dragged through its opening phases occurred among the diversified elements of the Colonial Empire also, making a parallel with their initial demonstrations of loyal sentiment. The general feeling, often talked of more active participation because Great Britain could not make use of it, found commonest expression in many voluntary funds, usually for the Red Cross. A remarkable example of such a contribution was announced in January, when Sir Douglas Jardine, Governor of Sierra Leone, received a cheque for £758 11s. for Red Cross Societies in England. The sum had been contributed by 128 persons representing small (non-British) Lebanese-Syrian communities in Sierra Leone, and in proportion to their means it was a very generous total. In forwarding their gift, these members of the Arab people expressed their gratitude for the freedom that they had enjoyed in Sierra Leone. Again, by way of celebrating the New Year, the Sultan of Lahej, in the Aden Protectorate, sent 13,500 rupees as his contribution to the Empire's funds. In Malaya, which had specially contributed £1,000,000 towards Imperial defence before the outbreak of war, Europeans had to be earnestly discouraged from returning home to volunteer for war service, their work in developing the colony's economic resources being so much more important.

In January the Malayan Patriotic Fund for war charities had reached £100,000, to which even the Chinese rickshaw owners had contributed £1,000. It would be possible to circle the globe with similar instances from other countries, showing that they shared in some degree the conviction of Australia, expressed by Mr. Menzies on December 10, that their "real frontier was on the Rhine and the East Coast of England."

MEN OF THE 'ACHILLES' WELCOMED TO THEIR HOME

R.M.S. 'Achilles,' cruiser of the New Zealand Division, received a rousing reception when she arrived home in New Zealand after her victory at the River Plate; 350 of her crew were New Zealanders, and about 100,000 people gathered in the streets of Auckland to cheer them as they marched to the Town Hall for a civic welcome.
LAST MOMENTS OF A BRITISH DESTROYER

On January 31, 1940, the Admiralty announced the loss of H.M. Destroyer "Grenville," sunk by mine or torpedo in the North Sea. On the left is the "Grenville" as she was. Below, the bows of the ill-fated ship are seen jutting above the water as boats pull away with survivors. The bottom photographs show, left, the last man to leave the sinking ship, balancing himself in a porthole in the bow; right, the "Grenville"'s bow silhouetted against one of the rescuing destroyers.

Photos, Associated Press: Wright & Logan
Chapter 37

THE SEA AFFAIR: NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE FIRST WEEKS OF 1940


The first month of the year 1940 was not characterized by any outstanding naval action. Pursuing their depredations on peaceful shipping, the Germans continued to take toll of merchant vessels, again to the considerable disadvantage of the neutral nations. The British Navy suffered serious losses in the destroyers "Grenville" and "Exmouth," the submarine "Undine," "Sturfish," and "Seahorse," and several Admiralty trawlers. But despite those gains the Nazis showed no signs of being able to intensify their submarine campaign, and it is fair to say that their ignominious successes were won by the mine, the bomb and the machine-gun as much as or more than by the torpedo.

For with half her submarine effective destroyed, Germany's empty boast of speedy replacement was clearly falsified. It became obvious that something had gone awry with the vaunted scheme of mass production which was to place a new submarine in service every day—that is, something of a purely technical character other than the practical impossibility of providing officers and crews on the same scale.

And so we find the sea affair in January, 1940, contributing to German credit little more than the making of cargo boats and the bombing and machine-gunning of fishing vessels, but adding still one more laurel to the record of "frightfulness" in the attacks on Trinity House lightsips.

British statesmen at this time showed themselves well content with the position at sea. Both the Prime Minister and the First Lord made public pronouncements of the first importance, in which they clearly stressed the growing advantage on the side of the Allies, which became more obvious as the months passed by. Mr. Churchill, in one of the most memorable speeches of his career (at the Manchester Free Trade Hall on January 27), recalled an earlier broadcast speech in which he had said that if Great Britain could reach the spring without any interruption to her seaborne trade she would have gained

The spring had yet arrived, but with all his customary caution he did imply that, so far, no major disaster had befallen which could in any way dim the prospect of that victory. "Sea-borne trade had been interrupted, but never to the extent which might vitally affect in a detrimental manner the life of the nation or the conduct of the war.

But no one could complain that the First Lord was parsimonious in his facts and figures, any more than he was pusillanimous in his invective, and again he fortified his argument with encouraging statements: "Let no one be disheartened," he said, "when he reads of daily losses or listens to them reiterated by the B.B.C." After five months of violent naval war it was better that his audience should remember matters of real encouragement, amongst which he enumerated the following.

It was a 500 to 1 chance, the First Lord said, against any ship which obeyed

- NAZIS FLOUTED ALL HUMANE CONVENTIONS

The upper photograph shows the East Dudgeon Lightsip, attacked and machine-gunned by Nazi aircraft on January 29, 1940. Beneath is the Trinity House vessel "Recover" another victim of Nazi aeroplanes. An officer was killed and 32 hands injured.

Photos, Wide World; Face
Admiralty instructions and joined a British convoy being sunk. Under the operation of the convoy system, out of nearly 7,500 ships convoyed only 15 had been lost; and it was to be remembered that the convoy system was becoming more refined and rapid as the weeks went by. The volume of British imports and exports, inevitably checked by the change from peace to war, was now steadily increasing. The ships captured and ships built had almost made good the losses suffered; and, finally, very important reinforcements were approaching both the British Navy and merchant shipping, to meet new dangers and new assaults which might have to be faced in the future.

The first five months had seen the U-boat driven from using the guns to using the torpedo, and largely driven from using the torpedo to laying the stealthy mine. There was a First Lord's no doubt, Mr. Churchill's Optimism added, that the attack by mines would be severe and costly, but he thought that British science was superior in several important ways to that of the enemy, and he saw no reason why the mine menace should not be brought into control as effectively as it was in the last war. In point of fact, during the month of January the sowing of mines by aero-

plane did sensibly diminish. This was in part due to the success of R.A.F. patrols over German seaplane bases, which prevented German aircraft leaving on night mine-sowing raids.

During the severe winter weather which ushered in the New Year and continued for weeks, the sufferings of the victims of the war at sea were of the most intense description. Abandoned to their fate on rafts, floating wreckage or open lifeboats, many died of hunger and exposure before help could reach them. Often their fate was a lingering one of slowly diminishing hopes, to end only in death itself. But every day revealed fresh instances of heroism adding new lustre to the immortal records of the men of the Royal Navy and Mercantile Marine.

On January 6 it was announced that the official congratulations of the Admiralty had been conveyed to an 18-year-old deckhand for a remarkable feat of seamanship and endurance after his ship, the London steamer "Arlington Court," had been torpedoed in fierce weather in the Atlantic in November (see Chapter 30). The lad was Malcolm Morrison, of Carboot, near Stornoway, Isle of Lewis. He navigated a waterlogged lifeboat for six days and saved the lives of five of his shipmates. This gallant youth, "happened to be the only one aboard the drifting boat who knew how to set a sail; knowledge he had gained as a boy in a drifter. He was elected "skipper" of the craft, and steered a course by the aid of a pocket compass, until finally he reached a busy shipping lane, where the lifeboat was sighted and rescued by a Norwegian tanker. Morrison even took charge of the rationing of the water supply, and when his feat became known he was invited to the Admiralty to tell his story and receive congratulations.

INTREPID YOUNG SCOT

This 18-year-old deckboy, Malcolm Morrison, of Stornoway, Lewis, is being congratulated by a London policeman as he left the Admiralty. After the sinking of the "Arlington Court" on November 20, 1939, he navigated a water-logged lifeboat for six days, saving the lives of those with him.

Photo: Topical

ALLIED NAVAL STAFFS CONFER

Members of the British and French Naval Staffs are here seen in conference at the Admiralty. Left to right, seated: Captaine de Vaisseau du Royaume, Vice-Admiral De Lalande, Commandant de Vaisseau de France, Rear-Admiral H. M. Burrough, Captain V. H. Danckwerts, Vice-Admiral H. H. Ramsey. Admiral Sir Lionel Preston. Left to right, standing: Lieutenant de Vaisseau Lacombe, Captain L. H. Bell, Captain R. H. F. de Salle, Commander J. B. Owen, Commander R. F. Nicholls, Commander J. F. N. Bradford. Vice-Admiral Phillips, Deputy Chief of Naval Staff, at the head of the table, but the French members on his right.

British Official Photograph; Crown Copyright.
Victim of Magnetic Mine

The 10,000-ton liner 'Dunbar Castle' was wrecked on January 9, 1940, through striking a magnetic mine which broke her back. The vessel is seen above, partly submerged. On the left two youngsters are reading the ship's name on one of her lifeboats, a grisly relic washed up on the south-east coast.

None of the crew, said Morrison, was fully dressed. In the boat were four blankets, but they were soon soaked by the heavy seas which the boat shipped. All suffered terribly from frostbites, and all save Morrison himself had a long spell in hospital afterwards. He said that he knew in which direction to steer because he had taken turns at the wheel of the 'Arlington Court,' and had afterwards followed the northeasterly course taken by that ship.

During the period under review the Germans reserved the main part of their attacks to small vessels out of convoy, but the ever-present danger of the mine was shown on January 9, when a major loss occurred. On that day the 10,000-ton Union Castle liner 'Dunbar Castle,' sailing in convoy for the Cape, struck a mine and sank off the south-east coast. The liner had about 48 passengers aboard, including nine children, and although she sank within fifteen minutes they were all rescued.

The commander, Capt. H. K. Causton, a storekeeper and a seaman were killed by the explosion. Captain Causton struggled, mortally wounded, from the bridge to his cabin to try and secure the ship's papers. He died ashore the next morning. The chief officer, Mr. E. H. Robinson, took charge of the ship. He has described how, immediately the vessel was struck, she started to heel over, and reached an alarming angle in a few minutes. There was no panic, and the boats on the starboard side were lowered, Mr. Robinson paid special tribute to the stewardess and some trained nurses and Sisters of Mercy who were aboard and did wonderful work amongst the women and children.

A remarkable example of coolness was shown by the second officer (Mr. Saunders), who set his own broken leg while the lifeboat in his charge was tossing in a choppy sea; as he fixed the splint he gave orders to the crew and encouraged them to row harder.
The three vessels were, in fact, the only submarines sunk by enemy action since the outbreak of the war, and whatever the nature of their dangerous mission we may be at least certain that it was a legitimate one and that they were not engaged, for example, in sinking defenceless merchant ships. "Starfish" was a "half-sister" of "Salmon," and "Undine" was a sister ship of "Ursula," two submarines which had done so well a few weeks earlier in torpedoing a German submarine and three German cruisers (see Chapter 48). "Starfish" was a comparatively small vessel, carrying one 3-inch gun, a machine-gun, and six 21-inch bow torpedo tubes. "Seahorse" carried the same armament; "Undine" was designed for coastal work and carried six 21-inch torpedo tubes and one small gun. Some weeks later an American lady who visited the prisoners-of-war camp where the survivors were incarcerated learnt some details about the loss of the "Starfish." The men told her that they were down on the bottom for nine hours, and after being attacked by the Germans with 32 depth charges decided that there was no alternative but to give in. Therefore by skilful manipulation the stern of the submarine was raised, and the men made their escape by means of the Davis apparatus. In this particular camp the entire crew of the "Undine" also were said to be imprisoned.

In the following week came the news of the loss of the destroyers "Grenville" and "Exmouth," the latter unhappily

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**SUBMARINES LOST WHILE ON DANGEROUS MISSION**

Three British submarines were lost during the first month of 1940, the "Seahorse" (top), "Starfish" (centre), and "Undine" (bottom). They were the first British submarines to be sunk by enemy action since the beginning of the war. The crews of the "Starfish" and "Undine" were able to make their escape by means of the Davis apparatus and were interned in Germany.
'AJAX' DEFYING THE 'GRAF SPEE'S' LIGHTNING

Here is a unique photograph of the River Plate naval battle taken by Marine Sgt. Coleman of the crew of H.M.S. 'Achilles.' It shows H.M.S. 'Ajax' firing her foremost turret guns at the German battleship 'Admiral Graf Spee' as the latter was running full out for the safety of Montevideo harbour. The 'Ajax' is some 600 yards away from the 'Achilles,' and making high speed. (See also other pictures in pp. 330-1.)

Photo, Central Press
MODERN MINE-LAYER'S DEADLY CARGO

Minas can be laid by almost any class of vessel, and cargo ships as well as specially built mine-layers are used for this task. The mine-layer is fitted with rotary gear and an endless chain equipment, which engage the mines in succession, each with its stoker and line. They are drawn aft on trolleys on a special track, and dropped over the stern one after another. Above are seen some of the mines carried on a British mine-layer which was once a pleasure steamer. Left is a close-up of a mine, on which a humorous headdress is given reminiscences of his wit. British contact mines are moored in accordance with the Hague Convention, and fitted with a device that renders them harmless if they break loose.

Photo by C. H. Browne
FROM THE SHELTER OF THE SMOKE SCREEN

In naval operations the smoke screen often proves invaluable in concealing attacking forces from the view of the defenders. The photograph above shows what a smoke screen looks like when viewed from a distance. Below, a destroyer is seen suddenly emerging from the shelter of a smoke screen. The blocking of the harbours at Zeebrugge and Ostend in 1918 were good examples of the value of smoke screens in providing cover for an attacking force.
DOVER PATROL’S WATCH ANDWARD OVER THE NARROW SEAS

In the Second Great War, as in the First, the vigilance of the Dover Patrol played a great part in the defence of the country as well as in helping to keep open the shipping lanes off our coasts. Above, a vessel of the Patrol, on its beat off the British coast, passes a neutral merchantman.

Photo, Sport & General
with all hands. H.M.S. "Granville," an Admiralty type flotilla leader of 1,486 tons, was launched in August, 1933. She had been built as leader of the G class of destroyers, to which "Gipsy," mined off the East Coast in November, belonged. She carried a normal complement of 175, of whom eight were known to have been killed, while 73 were missing and must be presumed to have lost their lives.

H.M.S. "Granville," whose commander was Captain G. E. Creasy, D.S.O., was either mined or torpedoed in the North Sea. A survivor's account of the sudden catastrophe was given by Able Seaman J. Walton, of Fleetwood. Describing how he was buying chocolate in the canteen when a terrific explosion took place, he said that he failed to reach a lifeboat and followed the rest into the icy sea. The bridge and superstructure collapsed, and many men were trapped underneath.

"I was lucky to get hold of a spar," he said. "After being tossed about for two hours I was rescued by another warship."

Many men were clinging to all kinds of wreckage, though the survivors were becoming fewer as the minutes passed. One man was holding on to part of the forecastle with one hand while in the other he had a piece of toast which he was eating.

The commander, who was among the saved, did not cease to encourage his men, even in these dire straits. Walton added: "Captain Creasy, while in the water, shouted messages to cheer us up. We responded with an effort to sing the Beer Barrel Polka."

The loss of H.M.S. "Exmouth" (Captain R. S. Benson) was an unequaled tragedy. The Admiralty stated that her sinking was due either to mine or torpedo, and from the first held out no hope that there were any survivors. She was a flotilla leader of 1,475 tons, re-commissioned at Portsmouth in 1935. Her complement was 175, and she mounted five 4-7-inch guns and six smaller guns, and eight torpedo tubes. Her capture had proved considerable distinction in the Navy, and had served in the First Great War, and as recently as a few weeks earlier had been awarded the D.S.O. for successful action against enemy submarines. The sinking of these two warships brought the total destroyer losses since the outbreak of war to five, the other three being "Duchess," lost in collision, and "Gipsy" and "Blanche," sunk by mines.

The story of the Merchant Navy during this period is given in Chapter 47, but as a general indication of the methods employed by the Germans one or two specific examples may be taken.

Two features stand out in this miserable record of sinkings of comparatively small vessels: the ruthless German order was obeyed to sink without warning; and the tragically sudden was the incidence of the disaster. Thus, "the London steamer 'Box Hill' sank in the North Sea (on January 1) within two or three minutes of an explosion. There was no time to launch the boats. . . . It is feared that 20 of her crew lost their lives." Again (on January 12): "Ten of the Newcastle steamer 'Granta's' crew of 21 are missing. The vessel's back was broken, and she sank in three minutes." These are typical instances of the suddenness of the call to face death which came to the merchant seamen.

But not always was the blow immediately effective, and if it did not prove so, the German submarine would persist in firing until the wretched ship was sent to the bottom. An instance is the Fleetwood trawler "Barbara Robertson," the survivors of which were afloat in an open boat for ten hours before they were spotted by a seaplane, which directed a warship to their rescue.

The first intimation of attack in this case was a shell out of the darkness, which smashed the wheelhouse. Following this no fewer than 18 shots were fired by the German submarine into the helpless little trawler before she finally received the hit which sank her. This period as a whole is probably more notable for the rapid development of aerial attack on shipping, which reached a high degree of intensity in the last days of January, when the Germans thought that the extremely severe weather would paralyse the counter-attacking aeroplanes. They were sadly disillusioned: the British "Fighters" were ready, and though
enemy attacks covered a range of over 400 miles of the British coastline, they were everywhere beaten off.

The method employed by German pilots was to swoop down on stationary or moving shipping, drop high-explosive or incendiary bombs, and machine-gun the crew. They had more success with their machine-guns than their bombs, and many defenceless sailors lost their lives whose ships remained undamaged. Even stationary lightships did not escape these cowardly attacks. Commenting on this new breach of all the laws of human decency, the deputy master of Trinity House, in a letter to "The Times," recalled that when the Eddystone Lighthouse was being built in the early part of the 18th century a French privateer carried off the workmen as prisoners. When King Louis XIV heard of the capture he gave orders that the privateer captain was to be reprimanded and compelled to release the captives, saying: "Their work is for the benefit of all nations; I am at war with England, not humanity." This correspondent added: "Further comment on the attitude towards humanity exhibited by our present enemies appears to be unnecessary."

The worst crime and the most poignant tragedy was the bombing of the East Dudgeon Lightship No. 8, attacked from the air on January 29. The only survivor of the crew of eight, Mr. J. Sanders of Great Yarmouth, told how the German aeroplane sprayed the decks with machine-gun bullet and dropped nine bombs, the last of which hit the vessel. The enemy then flew off, leaving the crew of eight to their fate in the ship's small boat. For 19 hours the doomed men (the majority elderly) rowed towards the coast, only two of them at last being strong enough to hold an oar. They reached the coast at 2:30 a.m. the next morning, when the boat capsized in the surf and only Sanders was able to struggle ashore. The bodies of his seven comrades and the overturned boat were later found on the beach.

Not all the German attacks on merchant ships, however, were allowed to go unchallenged. On many occasions these were beaten off by the use of the light armament carried. Two instances will suffice: the Royal Mail liner "Highland Patriot" (14,157 tons), bound for Rio de Janeiro, was pursued for two hours by a German submarine, whose fire she returned with most satisfactory results; a British tanker, attacked with bombs and machine-guns by a Heinkel plane in the North Sea, returned the fire with her anti-aircraft gun and almost certainly hit the aircraft.

The month ended with a signal victory over a German submarine which on January 30 had attacked ships in convoy and sunk the British tanker "Vela" (16,025 tons), the crew of which were fortunately rescued by an Italian steamer. The convoy's naval escort immediately bombèd the submarine and counter-attacked with depth charges. Later a flying boat of the R.A.F. Coastal Command located the submarine, which was apparently unable to dive owing to damage sustained from the depth charges. A heavy bomb was dropped, anti-aircraft and machine-gun fire was exchanged, and by the time the seaplane had directed the warships to the spot, the submarine had sunk; survivors were rescued from a rubber dinghy and from the sea. This admirable example of the cooperation of sea and air forces emphasized the extreme danger run by German submarines when attacking British ships in convoy.


January 3. Finnish air force raids Stettin again; Danish troops destroy Swede "Svarro" torpedoes off north of Scotland.


January 6. Fighting continues near Stettin and off coast of Finland with planes. British air force is in contact with new Russian division north of Kintaajar. Russian ships sighted in raid on Ullis. British attack on "Tailor" and "Codgroton Court," sunk off South-East Coast.


January 8. Finnish reports that they have won great victory during week-end in "tailor" area, Russian "14th Division" being destroyed. Successes also reported from Salla and Paimsoo.


January 15. Seven Russian soldiers killed in explosion at Weinsberg in France, a railway station.


January 17. Russian air attacks on Salla area. Finns capture Kurup, the mouth of the Sound, between Denmark and Sweden. British fighters intercept Nazi raiders over Suffolk. British air attacks on "Dundee Castle" sunk off South-East Coast.


January 19. Severe fighting in "waites" area of northern Russia. Five Russian divisions begin to arrive. Russian air force also begins to arrive. Russian aircraft machine gun sites in several coastal areas. British steamer "Canary" sunk by mine. Norwegian steamer "Baltic" reported sunk.


January 24. Fighting continues north-east of Lake Ladoga, in Karelian Isthmus and on Salla front. Two German aircraft cross over Shetlands and drop four bombs, but no damage is done. British vessels "Newhaven" and "Parkhill" reported lost with all hands.


January 27. British offensive against Finns' bridgeheads on coast of Kent. British destroyers "Glasgow" and "Harwich" reported sunk in North Sea. British destroyers "Glasgow" and "Harwich" reported sunk in North Sea.


January 29. Widespread Nazi raids on Britain are attempted, extending from Shetlands to coast of Kent. At least 12 ships attacked, two being sighted. New outburst of fighting north-east of Lake Ladoga, where Finns capture several enemy positions. British air raids over Hangen, Turku, and other towns. Danish ships "Engelholm," "Fredensborg," and "Nordhojen" steamer "Faro," and "Hesanger," reported sunk by U-boat.


Historic Documents. LXXXIV–LXXXVIII

NAZI LEADERS ADDRESS THE GERMAN PEOPLE

Most utterances by spokesmen of the Reich were diatribes against the Allies or boasting assertions of Germany's might, but sometimes the human note was struck. As in the admission by Goebbels that Germany would become greater every day, and in the remark addressed by Goering, as Commissioner for the Four-Year Plan, to bullying Nazi officials, illuminating extracts from other speeches are also given.

DR. GOEBBELS IN A BROADCAST SPEECH ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE "STRENGTH THROUGH JOY" MOVEMENT, DECEMBER 27, 1938

There has brought us many fresh sorrows. It is only natural that these sorrows, as they are so new and so heavy, are pressing upon the spirit of our people. Every day life seems to become grayer, and more difficult than it used to be.

A war cannot be won without optimism, which is as important as guns and rifles. What could be more suitable for creating this spirit of optimism than art? The more difficult and gloomy the times the more shining must be the beacon of art. This is particularly the demand of our soldiers. When the German radio broadcast a question as to what they wanted to hear, the unanimous reply was "optimistic music."

FIELD-MARSHAL GOERING IN A WARNING TO GERMAN OFFICIALS, DECEMBER 15, 1939 (NOT PUBLISHED IN THE GERMAN PRESS)

Officials are not there to drill the people, but to help them. I have a number of bad complaints recently against the overbearing behaviour of officials in state departments. Some of those complaints are prejudiced by the spirit of Zeal. Officials are conscious of their dignity and of their duty to the nation.

For instance, when an official was approached by a newly married couple who wished to apply for a permit to buy some material for curtains, he curtly refused their application, and told them to stick newspapers over their windows. Such abuses are, unfortunately, still rare, but they must not occur again in future. A member of the public who approaches a public department wants advice and not stupid phrases.

Measures must be taken to see that applicants do not always have to wait for long periods in queues. I demand that work should be done quickly, and that everything should be completed in the shortest possible space of time.

DR. GOEBBELS IN A SPEECH AT A POLITICAL CHRISTMAS PARTY, DECEMBER 22, 1939

This is a "warm Christmas" celebrated by a determined people. There is hardly anybody in Germany who is not suffering from difficulties and hardships. There is certainly nobody who does not want to suffer.

Germany's very existence is threatened. Utterances from London and Paris provide ample and crystal evidence of this fact. If, during the last weeks of the war, the Allied politicians tried to persuade the world that they were waging a war against Hitlerism without wanting to injure the German people, nobody is trying to conceal today that it is their goal to destroy Germany down to its very core, as a nation, and to split her apart, thereby bringing her back to her former political and economic collapse. Either we resign as a great power or we fall. It is of little significance for our future whether in particular among our enemies wanted this war and whether the British and French peoples are waging it joyfully and willingly.

We do not understand our opponents, as we are well aware of all their resources, but at the same time we know our opponents. That is why we do not overestimate them: either. They will be conquered and crushed by the power of 80,000,000 people. Their fervent hope is to separate the German people from the Jews. They will never succeed. Their mendacious gagging has no effect whatever on the German.

They shall not, as they did in 1918, win a victory of deception.

We celebrate this Christmas with that profound faith which is always the prerequisite of victory. There is among us no lack of that optimism essential to living and fighting. In this hour, we are not moved by grief and mourning but by pride and confidence. Our people are united as one great family and they are determined to bear the burden of fighting and working. We promise those at the front to see that the home front does its duty in the same way as they do.

Wherever hardships and sacrifices can be mitigated, we have done so, and shall continue to do so. But wherever they are inevitable, we will bear them together in order to make them lighter. Although peace is the real meaning of Christmas, we shall talk of peace only after victory.

BARON VON NURBURG, REICH PROTECTOR OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA, IN A NEW YEAR PROCLAMATION TO THE CZECH PEOPLE, DECEMBER 31, 1939

Thanks to the wise decision of its State President to place itself under the protection of the Reich, the Czech people have been spared the fate of Poland. It can go about its work in quiet and peace, and all the essential conditions have been assured to open up for it a happy existence in the great German Reich. One condition for this is admittedly that the Czech people fits into this powerful community without afterthoughts, that must be expected from the Czech people, that is realistic the reassessment of the position, and that it does positive work for its own benefit. I hope that the New Year will bring to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia an undisturbed, healthy, further development for the close community of states in which the Czech people are bound to Germany in the best guarantee for its future.

HERM HIGHTSBAUER IN A SPEECH ON THE SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE NAZI BEGING, JANUARY 31, 1940

When National-Socialism was striving for power, its opponents, the liberal and democratic parties, clamoured for the compulsory dissolution of the National-Socialist Party. In the same way the world is now striving to dissolve the German nation.

The reply of the German nation will be the same reply that the German nation has given in internal struggle. You are all well aware that we did not gain our victory internally by doing nothing. This victory, you remember, was achieved by heavy struggle.

When eventually in 1933 we came to power, and I took upon myself the responsibility for the future of the German nation, it was clear to me that the real struggle was still before me. The aim of this struggle, I knew, was the liberation of the German nation.

Whatever I have created since then has been created with this in view. The party, the S.A., the S.S., the German Labour Front, the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force, they have all been created with one object and one only—the liberation of the German people.

Since I entered the political arena I have hardly slept a single day of any importance, not to speak of the past five months. There is one assurance I can give the German people—a tremendous task has been carried out in these five months. In fact, all that was created in Germany in the previous seven years fade in comparison with it. Our arms factories are working according to plan. Our plans have been a success, and our foresight begins to bear fruit in all respects: big and small. I know that our enemies are gradually beginning to copy our methods. But their copying is only on a small scale.

Today they are confronted with the might of the German Army, which is the first in the world, and by the German nation, which is united by understanding and discipline, the result of the glorious National-Socialist education.

Eighty million people are now stepping up the front. The number of our enemies is about the same. But those 80,000,000 Germans have the best domestic organization conceivable. They have a strong faith and I may say not the worst leadership. Indeed, I am convinced that the best leadership is theirs. Both nation and leadership are united in one conviction—there can be no reconciliation until our clear rights are realized and assured.
Chapter 58

GERMANY BEFORE THE SPRING OFFENSIVE
OF 1940

Reasons for German Inactivity on the West—An Attack on the Low Countries was Called Off—Hitler's Proclamation Lacked Policy—Germany Depressed but Still United Behind the Leaders—Hopes of an Early Victory—Goering's Gloomy Speech—Impressions of a Repatriated British Refugee

In his broadcast speech on November 26, 1939, Mr. Neville Chamberlain had truly said that "up to the present the war is being carried on in a way very different from what we expected." While it may be said that any major war must hold surprises for those on both sides who are chiefly responsible for the conduct of hostilities, the Second Great War continued to justify Mr. Chamberlain's surprise to an extraordinary degree. This unexpected quality was mainly an expression of the apparent indecision of German policy and strategy.

"We need not attribute the reluctance of the Germans to begin a great land offensive, or to attempt a series of mass attacks from the air upon this country, to their humanity," Mr. Chamberlain had also observed; but some such great offensive had undoubtedly been expected by the Allies, for reliable expert calculations suggested that by no other means could Germany avoid ultimate defeat. Moreover, it was believed, not without cause, at least for the first month or two of the war, that Germany's Home Front was in a precarious condition, and that the Nazi leaders could not and would not dare to give the German people time to wait and ponder over the national predicament.

As the weeks passed, bringing no more than the wasteful and brutal but indecisive actions of the sea warfare, and Finland's heroic resistance to Russian invasion, it seemed as if the false propaganda of the Nazis had defeated those earlier hopes of a speedy German moral collapse. The comparative inaction of the military and air arms that continued throughout the winter was certainly not due to any humane compassion, and each side may be said to have been holding up the other with a threat of mutual destruction should a violent large-scale offensive be started on land or in the air.

Nevertheless, this temporary stalemate could hardly have been chosen by the Nazi leaders as their policy, no matter how successful for the time being their propaganda may have been for home consumption. We have seen how Hitler's "peace offensive" failed in the autumn, and it becomes evident in reviewing the events of the next few months that further diplomatic efforts, especially the attempts to influence neutral countries, were merely faute de mieux, because the Germans were not yet ready to repeat the methods that had been employed against Poland.

During the period from September until February, 1940, when the winter was coming to an end, the comparative inactivity of the Allies on land and in the air while their strength was steadily developing can be much more easily understood than the German inaction. Why had not the Germans struck a mighty blow, in their traditional way, as quickly as possible, once they were able to transfer their forces from Poland, and the Allies were still comparatively unready?

In the first place, it is evident that Hitler and Ribbentrop counted on the Allies accepting the fait accompli in Poland and relied on a "peace offensive." When their hopes in that direction were dashed, Hitler took counsel with a number of advisors, and the result was hesitation. But all the time autumn was passing into winter, and winter prohibited large-scale operations of a Blitzkrieg.

What were the causes of the hesitation? Mr. Chamberlain truly said, in the speech already referred to, that the Germans "must have come to the conclusion that at present they would lose more than they would gain by such attacks." But an analysis of this situation should reveal some significant factors that were bound to bear fruit later on in the war.

The prodigious expenditure of oil and the damage to mechanized vehicles in the Polish war had made heavy demands on reserves. Hitler's glorification of the swiftness of the German military triumph could not alter awkward facts of this kind. The question then was, could replacements be effected in time.

UPROOTED IN THE EVENING OF THEIR LIVES

Following the Russo-German repatriation agreement, the first batch of about a thousand German nationals from Volhynia, in Soviet Russia, crossed the River Bug at the end of December, 1939. Here are typical peasant women, forced to settle in a new country despite their advanced age.

Photo, Associated Press

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GOERING GREETST NAZI AIRMEN

Field-Marshal Goering was himself a pilot in the German Air Force during the First Great War, so doubtless the visit he is seen paying above to a German field aerodrome on the Western Front revived many memories.

Photo, International Graphic Press

for an autumn campaign, or could the army and air force risk a great offensive before they had been increased and strengthened? The German General Staff evidently said "No," and demanded more time. They were under no illusions as to the strength of the Maginot Line. Could a decision be reached by a great air offensive? Hitler seems to have held out hopes of big results from their "secret weapon," the magnetic mine.

Hitler's air and naval advisers appear to have recommended an attack on the Low Countries to further their plans, but by the time a decision to take such action was arrived at, winter was beginning and the Low Countries had taken alarm. At the last moment the General Staff seems to have vetoed the proposal. Possibly Hitler himself had hoped that the threat of obvious preparations would have overcome the will of the Low Countries to resist an infringement of their neutrality; or at the least his air advisers may have agreed to the plan, but by then the General Staff had probably lost confidence in the possibility of obtaining a decision through air action alone. They certainly preferred combined air and land action, which would have to await the strengthening of the army.

Another probability is that Hitler himself acquired doubts as to the reliability of his civil population if subjected to air reprisals at the hands of Britain and France. His General Staff, too, remembered how the civil population had failed them in the previous Great War. The next question was, fueling land or air offensives, could the German admirals promise results from U-boat and mine warfare? They appear to have said "Yes," and to have determined to answer the Allies' blockade measures. If any effective answer was hoped for, disappointment awaited the Nazi command. Without the use of the Low Countries' coastal bases, air and naval action against Allied (not to speak of neutral) shipping failed to produce results of importance, and this condition could be altered only by bringing the Low Countries into the war.

Germany evidently was not yet prepared to take this final step, and may have waited to see if Holland could be dragged into granting transit facilities and the use of airports, under the threat of actual hostilities.

A strange feature was the variation in German propaganda, from Hitler's speeches to the most hollow gibes of the broadcaster known to the English people as "Lord Haw-Haw." The employment of this renegade showed a basic misunderstanding of British mentality and must have proved a bad investment for the Nazis. On December 30 Hitler made a proclamation to the National Socialist Party on German policy and war aims. He was still asserting that his peaceful work had

TRYING TO SOLVE GERMANY'S PETROL PROBLEM

Petrol was severely rationed in Germany, and in many places the family car was replaced by the family bicycle, seen below, right. The Nazis hoped to make good a considerable part of their deficiency from Russia, and below, left, a Russian train driver conveying oil tanks is seen showing his bill of consignment to Nazi officials.

Photos, International Graphic Press, Kingston
been wrecked by the bad will and "the stubborn egotism" of the Western Powers, and Britain was still the chief villain. The following passage is a specimen of his fantasy, which merely reiterated some of the assertions made in his previous speeches:

"Germany and Europe must be freed from the ravishment and the endless threats that have their origins in the past and present-day England. Weapons must this time definitely be struck from the hands of the warmongers and declaimers of war. We fight, therefore, not only against the injustices of Versailles but to prevent the even greater injustices intended to replace it. We are fighting for the construction of a new Europe. Through the publication of documents giving the history leading up to the German-Polish conflict, it is proved that responsible warmongers in England not only rejected a peaceful solution of German-Polish problems but did everything possible through Poland to abuse the German Reich. As this failed, there remained only one possibility—that Poland should be misled by international warmongers to achieve her injustices by force. In eighteen days weapons decided. The Polish and the Versailles dictate exists no longer.

"The year 1939 was marked in German history by tremendous occurrences. First, by the incorporation of the age-old German territories of Bohemia and Moravia into the German Reich, securing the German Lebensraum. Second, Germany and Czechoslovakia, as in the past hundred years, will in the future live and work together peacefully. Third, through destruction of the Polish State, the old Reich frontiers were re-established.

"This year's fourth contribution is the non-aggression and consultative pact with Russia. The attempt of plutocratic statements in the West to bring Germany and Russia to fight one another for profit of a third party has been nipped in the bud. Germany's environment has been checked. Economically and militarily prepared, we enter this most decisive year in German history."

Then came again the assertions of his peaceful intentions that were frustrated at the last minute by England and "the Jewish capitalistic world enemy." In his efforts for peace after "Poland's elimination" he was supported by Mussolini, "who, in accordance with the sense and spirit of our friendship, made every effort to halt the development, which was accompanied by misfortune. But the Jewish reactionary warmongers in the capitalistic democracies have awaited this hour for years."

The one clear thing about the speech was its entire lack of policy. Sometimes playing up the anti-capitalist slogans of his new Soviet ally, and then making the best of the "friendship" of the Axis partner whom he had deserted in favour of Stalin, Hitler could only rant and echo the earlier oratorical effusions which impressed nobody outside Germany. The main plank of the Nazi home propaganda came after his assertion: "May 1940 bring a decision. Come what may, it will be our victory."
He warned his civilians, who might yet lose their tameness: “Everything that will be demanded in the way of sacrifices cannot be compared with that which the entire nation has at stake and is not comparable to the fate that threatens her should the mendacious criminals of Versailles again come into power.”

Only a week before this speech by the Fuehrer the Berlin correspondent of the Swedish “Svenska Dagbladet,” in an apparently well-informed résumé of the situation inside Germany, pointed out that the British and French propaganda at the beginning of hostilities had seriously underestimated the strength of the German home front, and that the leaflet war in any case was far less effective than propaganda by wireless. On the other hand, this correspondent, as quoted in the “Manchester Guardian” (December 21), asserted that the German home propaganda underestimated the intelligence of the German people.

The domestic propaganda about the alleged guilt of Eiser, the man arrested for the Munich bomb plot, had also been a failure in presentation. The same writer concluded that, though there was no enthusiasm for the war, the Germans were prepared to make the best of a difficult situation and believed in the victory of Germany.

Certainly there must have been some truth in this picture, for the remainder of the 1939-1940 winter, brought to North Europe some of the severest weather ever recorded, and with but little to glorify in the way of warfare. The Germans, with their ration cards and shortage of essential commodities, can have found little to cheer them in Germany’s moral support of the Soviet’s war against Finland.

They must also have become increasingly aware of the appalling misery and savage repressions of discontent in Bohemia and Poland. The British public was slow to realize the full extent of this tyranny, in spite of lurid stories in the Press. Mr. Winston Churchill, in a speech made at Manchester on January 27, 1940, told his listeners: “The German invaders pursue with every method their intention of destroying the Czech nation...” and “everything that has happened to the Czechs pales in comparison with the atrocities which are being perpetrated on the Poles. In German-occupied Poland the most hideous of terrorism prevails.” And he gave a brief and horrifying résumé of the main facts.

If the reports of Nazi methods in Poland did little to make Germany more popular with the small neutral countries of central Europe, the effect of intimidating them seems to have been achieved. The incident of the “Altmark” in Norwegian territorial waters revealed the dread of the unprepared Scandinavian countries that they might become involved in the war, and their subservience to bullying from Germany. The position of the Scandinavian neutrals grew more difficult and precarious as the gallant resistance of Finland to Soviet invasion became increasingly desperate and dependent upon reinforcements from the Allies or from her Scandinavian neighbours.

Germany’s war front could now be envisaged as stretched right across Europe, facing Soviet Russia, with the northern wing in Scandinavia—whence came, among other things, the vital supplies of Swedish iron ores—down to the Black Sea in the south and the Middle East, where the Anzacs were reinforcing the Allied army in Syria, and the reorganized Turkish army.

When the Danube should again be ice-free with the passing of winter, renewed German efforts to get larger supplies both from and through the Balkan countries—especially of oil from Rumania and Russia—was one of the big certainties of the spring of 1940.

Meanwhile, the German public had to make the most of stoicism and not really significant successes, such as the torpedoing and sinking of the large Canadian cargo vessel, “Beaverburn,” of 9,200 tons, and the denials of their leaders that the Allied blockade was effective, while the British themselves were going short of food owing to the German counter-blockade.

It appeared that from throughout the winter, in spite of prohibitions and blackouts, many Germans listened to French and British broadcasts. This was stated to apply especially to southwest Germany, though the B.B.C. news
WOMEN'S WAR WORK IN GERMANY

In Germany as in Britain, women played a large part in the war, and thousands were drafted into the factories. These photographs show: above, German women arriving for their day's work; the children being left in kindergartens during working hours; below, a woman attendant at a filing station; right, women making oil containers from waste-paper pulp.

Photos; Hulton News: International Graphic Press
in German was badly jammed. The Swiss radio was regularly listened to at noon even by leading Nazis, according to a report received in the Paris office of the German Social Democratic Party. This new series of reports started with the approach of spring, but the Paris correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph" outlined, in an article published in mid-March, a picture of "a Germany suffering from privation but apparently more than ever tightly held in the grasp of the Nazi Government. It is a depressed but a united Germany. If enthusiasm for Hitlerism is at no high pitch there is no opposition worth mentioning. The Nazi pact with Russia has 'dissolved' the Communists, whose underground anti-Nazi propaganda is said now to have stopped." This general conclusion was the more significant in that it was based upon reports from the Social Democrat opposition in Germany. Moreover, according to a Bavarian correspondent, there was "no apparent resentment among the Catholic masses at the Nazis' contemptuous attitude toward their Church." A report from Berlin asserted that there was "a widespread fear that the end of the Nazi regime would mean the destruction of all order." Letters quoted from German soldiers in the field showed that the men were encouraged to believe that the war would end in the summer. Other reports echoed the conclusion that there was little radical criticism of the Nazi government, the people having been induced to fear the consequences of defeat more than the privations of war.

To drive home Hitler's lie that the Allies aimed at the destruction of the German people, the "Volksischer Beobachter" published a fanciful map showing "what the Allies would do to Germany." To avoid the restoration of the Austrian, Czech and Polish pre-war frontiers was evidently considered an insufficient reason to the average German for waging a war, so Goebbels' map-maker showed a Germany shorn of another third of her pre-war area, large portions having been handed over to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, and even Denmark, which took the whole of the Jutland peninsula, including the Kiel naval base.

Another indirect sign that the authorities were not very confident about the German civilian morale was the curious reception of the announcement on February 9 by President Roosevelt that he was sending his Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Sumner Welles, to tour the chief European countries. Mr. Welles' visit was treated by the Press of the whole world outside Germany as a most important piece of news, indicating possibilities of United States sponsorship of peace terms, but it was buried in the German press and radio until it could no longer be ignored.

Mr. Welles' first visit was to Rome, in company with President Roosevelt's personal envoy to the Pope, a fact in itself somewhat embarrassing to the Nazi regime responsible for the German atrocities in Poland. But as Mr. Welles was to be received in Berlin, and actually to meet the Fuehrer, the subject had to be referred to. So it was treated in such a way as to convey the impression of German independence of United States diplomatic action, while allowing the average German to indulge in some wishful thinking about the revival of peace talks.

The fact was soon to be more of this than the Allies anticipated, but up to mid-February the more significant pointer appeared to be Hitler's proclamation of unlimited U-boat warfare, made on February 14, and accompanied by further propaganda aimed at the neutrals, warning them against approaching the coasts of Britain. Had their sea-born commerce not been so vitally necessary to the small neutrals of western and northern Europe, it seems probable that the German propaganda, backed up by so much "frightfulness," might well have caused them to abandon trade routes that were as vital to Britain as to themselves. Joseph Conrad, a Pole, who later became famous as an English author, summed up the German influence in Europe, when, after the outbreak of the previous war in 1914, he wrote: "I have long observed the German genius has a hypnotizing power over half-backed souls and half-lighted minds. There is an immense force of suggestion in highly-organized mediocrity. Had it not hypnotized half Europe!" With the substitution of the Nazi regime for the older order in Germany, Conrad's generalization gained immensely in force, but by the same token the danger which the Allies confronted and had to overcome in the Second Great War assumed a still more serious aspect. This remained, in spite of the essential failure of the German counter-blockade. The new phase of U-boat warfare promised by Hitler showed no sign of changing the situation, though the loss of life and tonnage continued, for neutrals and Allies alike.

As in confirming the reports of secret observers inside Germany that there were severe restrictions of commodities owing to shortage, but also a certain tameness in the mood of the German public, Goering, on February 15, made a candid and almost a gloomy speech. His main subject was the shortage of essential materials, including foods, and he made an appeal of some urgency to German farmers to maintain and increase food supplies to meet still more critical times ahead. The depressing effect of the speech was relieved by assurances that Germany was finding much larger loopholes in the British blockade than existed in the previous war.

Reports in the British press at this time wisely tended to discourage over-hopeful expectation of quick victory, although the frequent accounts of the German arms industry—the variety of her ingenious substitutes for commodities difficult to procure—always reminded the reader of Britain's happier economic situation. The great Leipzig Fair, held as usual, flaunted these synthetic substitutes, and gave a strong impression of German cleverness.

Conditions inside Germany, and the fortitude with which the German people were facing the future at the beginning of 1940, formed the substance of an interview of a "Star" reporter with
a Miss Barbara Kelly, who was repatriated from Germany at the beginning of March, 1940, after fourteen months there.

These are Miss Kelly’s replies to some of the questions the reporter put to her:

Q. Do the Germans ever talk of bombing England?
A. I never heard any mention of it. They hate England because England, a smaller country than Germany, has most of the things that Germany wants. But the hate is confined to our politicians. The Germans feel that England is jealous of Germany’s growing power. I am certain that Germany will not bomb England till England bomb them.

Q. Do the Germans think they have control of the sea?
A. They think they have nothing like the British Navy. But they also think there is nothing like their U-boats, which they feel are in control round our coasts.

Q. Is Germany starving or faced with any immediate risk of doing so?
A. Germany are being so short-rations that they can live for a long time. The only rationed food is sugar. Yet my last meal in Frankfurt consisted of roast beef, roast potatoes, braised onions and cooked plums. There was more than I could eat. The coffee was strong, but not bad. Everyone gets a quarter of a pound of butter a week. I never suffered from shortage of food. Soap is very scarce. I never washed my hands during the day; I preferred to save the soap for my bath.

Miss Kelly said it was impossible to buy any material till one had the coupons, even a couple of yards. There were coupons for umbrellas and almost everything.

Other questions were:

Q. Did you have trouble with Nazi officials? Were you bullied?
A. No. If you obey the Nazi regulations you are well treated, even in prison.

Q. Are the people tired of Hitler?
A. No. I should say the whole country is behind the Führer. People remember how, after the last war, hundreds of Germans died of starvation. That is why they don’t quarrel with the rationing now; they feel it is important. The Germans consider they have right on their side; they think Hitler is a wonderful leader. The German will lose faith in the Führer only when they are broken in every way.

Miss Kelly added that future, when the Führer declared they faced it with confidence.

"Several intelligent Germans told me they thought England would climb down if we could save our faces when we did it," she added.

"These Germans implied that, even if England knew she was wrong, she was too proud to admit it, and would carry on with the war."

No individual stories could possibly tell the whole truth, and certainly not all of the foregoing interview carried conviction, but there were enough reports during the early part of 1940 to confirm the impression of a Germany with insurmountable powers of endurance. Another view of the opposite side of the picture of a blockaded Germany living in dread of the Gestapo was offered by certain exceptions to the rule of civilian privation. The severe weather conditions, experienced in some degree

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LEIPZIG FAIR IN THE FIRST WAR YEAR

Leipzig is famous for its annual trade fair which normally attracts buyers from all over the world. It was held in 1936 more for its propaganda value than anything else, for Britain’s blockade had stopped Germany’s export trade. Above, the Petersstrasse, Leipzig, during the fair.

Photo. Keystone

Berlin, gave women the equivalent of a university course in domestic and other service of national importance, and especially devoted its resources to training women leaders. Hitler’s "Volkischer Beobachter" had declared in the New Year that "the domestic training of young women must continue as usual during the war." In early February sarcastic attacks were appearing in the press against well-to-do middle-class young ladies who tried to evade the year of compulsory labour service. The "Schwarze Korps," the S.S. journal, quoted the following two advertisements in order to pour scornful indignation.
THE FUEHRER VISITS THE WOUNDED

In the photograph above Herr Hitler is seen paying a visit to wounded German soldiers at a base hospital in Germany. Below is a scene depicting the calling-up of further German reservists. The newly-arrived conscripts are having their names called over in the barrack yard.

Photos, Central Press; E.N.A.

upon the snobbish rich girls. The
testimony quoted below appeared in
the "Manchester Guardian" (February
12, 1940):

Young lady, well educated, wants to
perform her obligatory six-months' service
with an elderly childless physician's family
(help in consulting, house and in household
duties). Heidelberg or Mannheim preferred.

Wanted for my daughter, 27, years old, in
situation for serving her obligatory year
only in good family, where she may continue
her studies of languages (Italian, French,
and English), and of typing and shorthand
in three languages. The girl has average
maturity, and one year in commercial high
school and the certificate of an institute in
Italian Switzerland. Italian family preferred.
Contribution will be made towards her
board.

Perhaps the fact that such an advert-
sissement as the second could be so
brazenly published by a German parent
was even stranger than the signs of a
well-to-do class existing and remaining
mentally so little affected by the war.
The Schwarze Korps indulged in heavy
sarcasm, concluding: "Fortunately, the
distinguished fathers cannot themselves
choose the service posts for their little
princesses. The labour exchanges see
to it that the regulations are not so
easily evaded as snobs imagine."

It was difficult still in the winter of
1940 to fit this middle-class Germany—
rooted in old family traditions and
comfort—into the same frame as the
Nazi thieves and sadists in Bohemia
and Poland, the severe and extensive
rationing and regulating of life, the
suppression of individuality, the false
propaganda, and the savagery of
Germany's warfare at sea.

The attempt to envisage the contrasting
aspects of Germany at this time
shows how the unexpectedness and
apparent slowness of the war were
perplexing a Europe almost entirely
dominated by fear of her intentions.

Though this required enabled the Allies
to build up their armed forces and to
harness industry to the war effort more
fully, it brought certain disadvantages.
Among civilians there was a sense of
anticlimax and a certain slackening
after the first few weeks, while the pause
was not good for the morale or the
discipline of the French who lined the
frontier defences.
Chapter 39

PROPAGANDA, A VITAL WEAPON OF WAR: HOW NAZI LIES WERE REFUTED

Effective Allied Propaganda in the War of 1914-18—Hitler's Views—Dr. Goebbels and his Propaganda Ministry—The Reichskulturkammer—Terrorization of Neutrals by the Nazis—German Broadcasts in English—How the Allies Countered Nazi Lying—The Ministry of Information—The B.B.C. Monitoring Service—‘The Arabic Listener’—British Film Propaganda

Propaganda, to quote the definition of the Oxford English Dictionary, is "any association, systematic scheme, or concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine or practice." It is no new thing; the word itself is taken from the Latin title, "Congregatio de Propaganda Fide," of a committee of cardinals founded in 1622 for the care and oversight of foreign missions, for the Roman Catholic Church had realized the value of controlling large masses of opinion.

Nevertheless, the organized use of propaganda as a regular instrument of foreign policy is a comparatively modern development, and it was not until the First World War, when war first came to be waged by nations instead of by the fighting forces alone, that it was realized that economic and military war must be accompanied by a psychological warfare which had as its aim the undermining of the morale of the adversary, on the home front as well as in the field.

In that war the Allied propaganda was exceedingly effective. Ludendorff himself acknowledged this, and wrote, just before the final German offensive of July 15, 1918:

"The Army complained of the enemy propaganda. It was the more effective because the Army was rendered impressionable by the attitude at home. The Army was literally drenched with enemy propaganda publications. Their great danger to us was clearly recognized. The Supreme Command offered rewards for each ad as were landed over to us, but we could not prevent them from poisoning the heart of our soldiers."

On another occasion he wrote:

"The shattering of public confidence at home affected our moral readiness to fight. With the disappearance of our moral readiness to fight everything changed completely. We no longer battled to the last drop of our blood. Many Germans were no longer willing to die for their country."

Ludendorff was not alone in realizing the efficacy of the Allied propaganda. German newspapers, politicians and military leaders alike stressed its danger. The Minister of War stated in the Press on August 25, 1918: "In propaganda the enemy is undoubtedly our superior."

Small wonder, then, when the Nazis came into power, with a policy based on international blackmail and the threats of totalitarian war, that they should have paid special attention to propaganda. From his earliest days Hitler had recognized its power and importance. A whole chapter—the most brutally realistic in the book—was devoted to the subject in "Mein Kampf."

UGANDA LISTENS IN

The native population of Uganda listened to the B.B.C. News Bulletins with eager interest, and below a group of natives at Kampala are seen gathering round the loudspeakers as the news comes in. For their benefit a rough map has been sketched on a sheet, so that they can more easily follow the news.

British Official Photograph Crown Copyright.
Before describing the organization of the Nazi propaganda machine, let us summarize the principles upon which, in Hitler's opinion, successful propaganda should be based. According to the Führer, successful propaganda truth has no place, for the aim of propaganda is, in Hitler's own words, "not to investigate the truth—but to serve its own truth honestly." This is equivalent to saying that propaganda asserts as true that which happens at the moment to suit its purpose. "What is necessary, is right," runs the title of the concluding chapter of "Mein Kampf." There is, however, a special danger in telling lies, a danger not so much that the lies might be found out, as that they might not be of sufficient magnitude to command belief. Of "little lies" the ordinary man is inclined to be sceptical, since these are the kind of lies he himself tells. Most people are afraid to tell "big lies," and therefore the bigger the lie the more likely it is to be accepted as true. "Such a form of lying would never enter their heads," says Hitler cynically; "they would never credit to others the possibility of such great impudence as the complete reversal of facts." We are reminded of the Nazi account of the sinking of the "Athenia."

It may be that Hitler made one of his biggest blunders in adopting this conception. The Allies adopted an entirely different attitude towards propaganda. They felt that the control of public opinion was limited by the necessity of a considerable measure of conformity with the facts, and that false statements of fact were bad propaganda.

Propaganda is a form of advertising, and one can no more expect to find absolute truth in propaganda than one can expect an advertiser to enumerate the adverse points of the product he is selling. But just as the advertisement which is based on the closest approximation to truth is the one which sells the most goods, so, reasoned the Allies, the more nearly propaganda approximates to the truth the better it will be. Moreover, even in countries with a controlled press and a rigorous censorship, there is always the danger that "truth will out," and few things are more damaging to propaganda than the discovery that it is manifestly untrue.

Another of Hitler's principles was that since "the receptivity of the great masses is very limited ... efficient propaganda has to be restricted to a very few points." These points were to be repeated "slogan-like" until they came to be accepted almost unconsciously. On the other hand, the "forgetfulness" of the masses is "considerable," and the "few points" may from time to time undergo change or even reversal. Striking examples of such reversal were witnessed during the course of the war.

"TRUTH WILL OUT"

"BOMPHLETS' GAVE BERLIN THE LIE"

Following up a campaign which had proved successful in the First Great War, the R.A.F. distributed over wide areas of Germany not bombs but leaflets, which informed Germans of many things their government had kept hidden from them. Top bundles of leaflets are being loaded on to a Whitley bomber. Above, the method by which the bundles of leaflets were released by being dropped down a chute.

Photo, Fox; Charles E. Brown.
OCULAR PROOF OF ALLIED ACTIVITIES

To counter the work of Nazi agents in foreign lands, Britain arranged for photographic displays of Allied activities to be shown in many countries. Left, a display featuring the scuttling of the "Admiral Graf Spee," shown in the Cunard White Star offices at Copenhagen; above, Sir Ahmed Bonayed, in his office in the Medina of Fez, presiding over a display of war photographs; below, "The People's Illustrated Newspaper"—an exhibition of photographs arranged by the British Information Office at Aden.

British Official Photographs: Crown Copyright
TRUTH FLIES TO THE NEUTRALS

Neutral countries, aware that the Press of the 'Totalitarian' countries could utter only official propaganda, placed more reliance on the news contained in British newspapers, bundles of which are here seen being loaded on to a Belgian aeroplane for distribution abroad.

Photo, Charles E. Brown

Propaganda, to be successful, must be "plugged" with relentless insistence, Hitler asserted. Hence the necessity of controlling the Press, whose influence is by far the strongest and most impressive, since it is applied not casually but continuously." Dr. Goebbels considered that if a statement were repeated often enough and with sufficient conviction it would in the end be believed. But this method was not without its dangers; it led listeners into drawing erroneous conclusions which were not always in favour of the Reich. For instance, at one time German broadcasts and newspapers unceasingly maintained that the Allies had not sufficient petrol. If this were believed by listeners, then it became clear to them that if the Allies, with the seas open to them and a possibility of supplies from all available resources, were suffering from lack of petrol, then Germany, with her supplies restricted by the Allies' mastery of the seas, must herself be woefully short. Similarly, the constant gibes of "Where is the 'Ark Royal'?" recited on the head of the German propaganda ministry

internal propaganda was that of "encirclement." The motive behind such propaganda was to forestall any future war-guilt controversy by endeavouring in advance to fix the responsibility of war. In spite of the attempt to represent Germany as the innocent victim of a kind of international conspiracy, however, the Nazi press continued to repeat its braggadocio assertions about the invincibility of Germany: how she possessed 40,000 aeroplanes with which she intended to annihilate London at a stroke; how her army was invincible; how she possessed the means of strafing England within a few months by a blockade of mines and submarines.

That these two forms of propaganda were mutually contradictory—implying as they did that Germany was both faced with the prospect of fighting for her life and capable of annihilating her enemies at a blow—mattered little. A propaganda which throws truth overboard is not likely to burden itself overmuch with consistency. A like inconsistency was shown in the demand for "Lebensraum" and the simultaneous policy of repatriating thousands—possibly in the end millions—of "exiled" Germans in the denial of all ability, initiative, and character to the Jewish race, and the admission that, previous to the Hitler revolution, the Jews had
BLAZING AWAY IN THE NIGHT

During the R.A.F. raids on German bases at Sylt and elsewhere the British airmen were met with fierce anti-aircraft fire from the German batteries, which, however, proved ineffective. Above, a German A.A. battery at night practice on the German coast. The scene is lit by one flash of the synchronized firing of the 3.7 centimetre guns.

Photo, Press News
PARADES AND PATROLS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

In January, 1944, General Gamelin, Governor-General of the Allied Forces, decried Lord Gort and General Irwin in the Grand Cenve of the Legion of Honour. On the left, the two British generals, wearing their insignia, are seen in company with General Gamelin and General Giraud, taking the salute as a detachment of French infantry passes. The photographs below show, left, a French patrol on reconnaissance crossing through the snow in Neuretterland; right, a British patrol, wearing white uniforms, at an advanced post in the snows.

Photos, English; British Official; Colmar; Copyright.
'BLITZKRIEG' IN THE DRAWING ROOM

Herr Hitler's model of part of the Siegfried Line is evidently a source of great amusement, to judge by the expressions on the faces of these Nazi leaders, as an adjutant presses buttons and they see the works go round. Leaning over on the right is Field-Marshall Goering. Wishful thinking can here be indulged in without let or hindrance.
occupied the chief positions in almost every sphere of public life; in the policy of systematically expelling all Jews from the Reich, coupled with a policy of conquest which resulted in the inclusion of more Jews within the Reich than ever before. We need not wonder at these inconsistencies. The distinction between truth and falsehood is the prerogative of thought. Nazi propaganda was intended as a substitute for thought.

Propaganda of this type could not have exerted the influence it did unless the German press were subject to rigid control. Although the circulation of most German newspapers had decreased in the years prior to the war, the number of newspapers published in Germany at the end of 1939 was still 2,500. Before the Nazi revolution these newspapers used to set a standard of journalism which was at times the pride of Germany and the envy of the world. After the Nazis came into power even such respectable organs as the "Berliner Illustrirte Nachtschau" included propaganda of crudity beside which the "yellowest" press of other countries paled. This was the type of propaganda which Germany favoured for home consumption and for the benefit of neutral countries as being best calculated to "arouse the outbursts of fury" which Goebbels had in mind.

One of the main organizations for home front propaganda was the Reichskulturkammer, or Reich Chamber of Culture, also ruled over by Goebbels. Founded in 1933, a few weeks after the Nazis had seized power, the Chamber of Culture exercised the strictest control over every channel of publicity. No branch of human expression was free from its supervision, and in order that the supervision might be thorough the Reich was divided into so many districts, to each of which was assigned an officer of the Chamber whose job it was to gauge the public mood. The Chamber possessed a separate branch for every important channel of expression: literature, broadcasting, art, music, the drama, the screen and, above all, the Press; and the whole of the organization was watched over by a central committee of fanatical Nazis.

Notwithstanding the Fuehrer's statement in "Mein Kampf" that the people "are no more conscious of the insolent manner in which they are mentally terrorized than they are of the shocking misuse of their human freedom," an announcer asserted over the German wireless (November 29) that "Chamberlain has not succeeded in convincing Germany of a single lie, whereas we have produced documentary proof of two hundred British lies." It is not without interest that on precisely the same day the German News Agency actually had the temerity to declare that "as a result of German air attacks on the Firth of Forth, the weekly ammunition output of the Northern British industrial area has been reduced by more than half."

It is unlikely that, among the two hundred "British lies" which Dr. Goebbels so patiently documented, there are any to match the statement made in the "B.Z. am Mittag" for December 19, 1938, that in England the buying and selling of children has been developed into a proper industry. There are proper companies which trade in children, whose prices are listed up to £5000 or £6000 (!)

No less dangerous (and equally well organized) was that branch of German propaganda designed for consumption abroad. In this case the aims were: to threaten neutral countries with dire consequences of trading with Britain; to represent the enemies of Germany as the tools of international finance and "World Jewry"; to represent Germany as the bulwark of European culture (though no longer against the poison of Bolshevism); to belittle the war efforts of the Allies; to encourage pacifism in Britain and France; and finally—the forlornest hope of all—to split the Franco-British alliance.

As to the terrorization of neutrals, the Nazi interpretation of neutrality was radically different from that of other nations. A neutral country such as Holland, which continued to trade
WHERE LISTENING TO TRUTH WAS HIGH TREASON

From the outbreak of war listening-in to foreign broadcasts was made a punishable offence in Germany. Above, Dr. Goebbels inspecting a model of the "People's Radio" set, which could receive only German stations. All Germans were supposed to listen to their Führer's speeches, and below a group of workers in a German factory is seen taking in Hitler's bombastic utterances.

Photos, International Graphic Press

with the Allies and refused to grant to Germany everything that she asked, was accused of being "unneutral." Such importance did the Nazis attach to the strategic and economic position of Holland that a gigantic propaganda campaign was started at the end of November, 1939, to bring that country completely within the orbit of the Reich. A Propaganda Bureau, to the account of which £500,000 in gold had been deposited by the Nazi newspaper-controller, Dr. Otto Dietrich, was set up, and Dr. Theodore Boetttinger, later correspondent of the "Volksbeobachter" in London, was appointed chief. A similar propagandist drive was carried out in Turkey, where the peripatetic von Papen stove mainly to wheedle concessions from a government which had shown itself proof against both wooing and threats. The fact that, simultaneously with von Papen's offers of friendship, the German Embassy in Istanbul was engaged in distributing anti-Turkish pamphlets, attempting to bribe Turkish newspapers such as "Tan" (which had declared that it was offered German money), and facilitating the entry of many Nazi agents under the now familiar guise of "tourists," "technical" and "technicians," was merely a further example of the blundering technique of so much Nazi propaganda in foreign countries.

The representation of Britain and France as the tools of international finance and of World Jewry was especially dear to the heart of Goebbels. His facile pen never ran more smoothly than when he was denouncing the "Jew- ridden warmongers of London, Paris and Washington." Unfortunately, after the Russo-German pact, it was no longer possible for Goebbels to indulge in his favourite gibes about the British Empire being the tool of Bolshevism. Cartoons in which Moscow was pictured as the ally of British capitalism had appeared in their thousands in Nazi newspapers. The "Sturmer," for instance, was never tired of repeating that the Jews brought the Bolshevist terror to the Russian Empire," and that the result of this Jewish Bolshevist plotting is a sea of blood, a sea of tears, untold suffering, untold distress throughout the world." (December 26, 1938).

No wonder that Goebbels and his colleagues found the new alliance with the Comintern somewhat difficult to reconcile with what they had written in literally hundreds of articles.

Not merely was the German home front saturated with propaganda of which the aim was to ridicule the power of potential enemies, but no effort was spared to prevent news of an awkward character from percolating into the Reich. By an order of the Deutsche Justiz, dated March 24, 1939:

"Any person who spreads news from foreign broadcasts calculated to endanger the common weal, or to bring into disrepute the government, the National-Socialist Party, or any of its branches... renders himself liable to two years' imprisonment. If the news is spread in public, the sentence may vary from three months to five years."

Later, the punishment in cases of great gravity could be death. On the other hand, we read that:

"to England's polyglot lying an opponent has arisen—the news service in English from
RHINESIDE PROPAGANDA

Top left, a battery of loudspeakers on the German side of the Rhine, used to try to persuade the French to lay down their arms. Top right, German soldiers simulating friendship by waving across the river. Centre left, one of the German balloons used for sending propaganda leaflets into French territory. Above, a replica of Mr. Chamberlain's celebrated umbrella hoisted on the German side of the Rhine. Left, the French retort, in the shape of an effigy of Hitler strung up on a gibbet.

Photogs. Courtesy of the French Embassy; E.N.A.; Keystone; ‘Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung.’
This type of propaganda assumed its most insidious form in broadcasts in English and French from the German radio stations. Such broadcasts were very carefully planned with a view to weakening and discouraging the civilian populations of the Allied countries by arousing suspicion and making them mistrust their leaders. These Nazi propaganda talks were a shrewd mixture of lies, half-truths, and an occasional sound criticism. To the mass of people, untrained in logic, they presented traps laid by Dr. Goebbels and his ingenious subordinates into which it was easily to fall.

England, unlike Nazi Germany, had a free press, and consequently it was easy enough for the Nazi propagandists to seize upon and quote complaints and criticism in our newspapers. One of the greater prerogatives of Democracy, the right to criticize, became a boon to the Nazi broadcasters. They took advantage of the Englishman’s freedom to listen to whatever was on the air, and did their utmost to influence mass opinion throughout Britain by seizing upon the Englishman’s invertebrate love of grumbling (to which they attached undue importance) and using it for their own purposes.

HUMOUR IN WARTIME PROPAGANDA

Above, right, is one of the amusing series of cartoons drawn by Fougasse to call attention to the danger of disclosing in careless conversation information likely to be of use to the enemy. Left is one of a series of ‘Hush!’ cartoons by Capt. O. Lacoste, an officer in the B.E.F.

These German broadcasts in English were aspects of Nazi propaganda with which the Englishman was most familiar; but English and French broadcasts formed but a small part of the total Nazi propaganda, which was sent out by radio, press, and films in every language to all the countries of the world without ceasing. Each item was designed especially for the country it was meant to influence, and considerable ingenuity was displayed in the framing of the news bulletins sent out in foreign languages from the various German broadcasting stations.

Another form of German propaganda, aimed at undermining the confidence of the British people in the utterances of their leaders, took the form of leaflets sent through the ordinary post via neutral countries to private persons in Great Britain.

One of these Nazi leaflets implied that the S.S. “Athens” was sunk by the British themselves by order of the First Lord of the Admiralty — with the object of drawing America into the war by means of a lie alleging a German submarine attack.

Another leaflet from Dr. Goebbels purported to give proof that the British were supplying poison gas to Poland. Although these leaflets had little effect in that they did “protest too much,” considerable surprise was expressed in Britain that the censorship department should not have taken steps to prevent the distribution of this enemy propaganda.

To sum up the aims of Nazi propaganda: it was concerned not with the dissemination of truth, but with furthering the ends of Nazi policy for the time being. As long as these ended were gained, the Propaganda Ministry cared not a whit if statements they had made at one time were contradicted later owing to changed conditions. Truth and falsity had no bearing on the object of their propaganda; their only criterion of success was whether their
RIVAL MINISTRIES OF THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR

Top, right, the building in the Wilhemplatz, Berlin, which houses the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda. Top left, Dr. Josef Goebbels, head of the German Propaganda Ministry. Lower left, the London home of the British Ministry of Information. The French flag is flying as a compliment to M. Frossard, French Minister of Information. Lower right, Sir John Reith, British Minister of Information (on left), conferring with his French counterpart, M. Frossard (at right). Standing is Sir Edward Grigg, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Information.

Photos, International Graphic Press; E.N.A.; Topical

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worried the Germans at that time and was picturesquely described by one of their writers as "English poison raining down from God's clear sky." Millions of leaflets had been dropped over and behind the German lines during the summer and autumn of 1918; in October of that year the number reached 5,360,000. Thus the leaflet raids carried out over extensive tracts of Germany as soon as war was declared in September, 1939, were no new thing. Whether the subject-matter of the British pamphlets was always happy is perhaps open to question.

Immediately upon the outbreak of war the Ministry of Information was set up in Britain. Its task included the distribution of news on behalf of the Government and the fighting services, censorship, and the dissemination of propaganda throughout the world, including Germany.

The first Minister of Information was Lord Macmillan, an authority on international law. He resigned his post on January 5, 1940, and was succeeded by Sir John Reith, for many years Director-General of the B.B.C. The Ministry had yet to evolve a technique adequate to its vitally responsible task.

Originally designed to be as comprehensive as possible, it was soon found to be far too unwieldy. Moreover, its staff of nearly a thousand persons contained far too few men trained for the job, only twenty-seven being journalists. As a result of criticism the personnel was drastically reduced and thoroughly rearranged, with a distinct improvement in the handling of information. The facts that the supply of news for home consumption was apt to contain a great deal that was trivial or merely vague; that the desirability of making known the extent and magnitude of Britain's war effort, both at home and abroad, was not at that date fully appreciated; that the Allied case was frequently stated with insufficient force and incisiveness—these were criticisms which, because they could be made freely and in public, were in themselves an indirect vindication of the cause for which Britain was fighting.

The Ministry of Information was divided into two main branches: Administrative and Production. The Production side, which handled the creative side of British propaganda, was again divided into many sub-sections, all under single control to ensure smooth working and cooperation; these subsections dealt with various aspects of information, and included an Empire division, an American division, a...
Religious division, a Film division, and General Production, under which latter head may be grouped such things as advertising, photographs, pamphlets and leaflets, editorial work, etc. In addition, a very important division, in conjunction with the B.B.C., dealt with the vital subject of broadcasting.

Not only did the Ministry have to disseminate news over the air through the medium of the B.B.C., but it had also to keep a watchful ear upon the news being put out, not only by Nazi broadcasting stations, but by broadcasting stations all over the world, and for this purpose a Monitoring Service was instituted which formed the 'ear' of Britain. For twenty-four hours every day expert linguists of the B.B.C. listened to and recorded as many as a hundred and sixty foreign broadcasts in a score of different languages. Daily digests were prepared of all these broadcasts and immediately distributed to the various government departments interested, as well as to the Ministry of Information itself. If, for instance, a big lie were sent out over the air from the German short-wave station at Zeezen, which had to do with the British army, a translation would be sent at once to the War Office, which would check up the correct facts, and another to the Ministry of Information, which would prepare a suitable reply. In fact, this Monitoring Service was one of the most important units of the war of words, working hand in hand with the unit responsible for sending out the foreign news services. On its work depended the efficacy of the British reply to the enemy's propaganda.

The B.C.C. Recorded Programmes Library also had its share in propaganda, and perhaps no part of the B.B.C.'s war effort was more effective than the use made of the actual voice of Hitler, announcing his renunciation of any more territorial claims in Europe, and other such 'verbal boomerangs,' as the 'Listener' called them. Then there were the remarkable recorded eye-witness accounts by sailors who fought against the 'Admiral Graf Spee,' the stories of the men rescued from the 'Altmark,' etc. In such cases the spoken word recorded had a hundred times greater value than an account in cold print.

The B.B.C. Foreign News Services undoubtedly played an enormous part in the war effort. Under the aegis of the Ministry of Information bulletins and statements of the British point of view were broadcast from London to all parts of the world in a score of languages, reaching immense audiences. Abundant evidence was forthcoming, from a number of reliable sources, that these programmes were immensely valued. It was found that many Germans listened to them, despite the stringent prohibition of the Nazi authorities—listened to them with a blanket over the loudspeaker, lest the servants should overhear and denounced them!

There were over a thousand voluntary reporters in all parts of the world who made it their business to inform the B.B.C. of the success or otherwise of these foreign broadcasts, which were sent out by announcers chosen for their knowledge and experience of the countries concerned and so able to put over the news in a way their listeners could best understand and appreciate. Moreover, in order to ensure that the existence and scope of the British foreign language broadcasts should be as widely known as possible, leaflets were prepared in every European language, as well as six regular publications, giving details of all the programmes.

The violent anti-British campaigns which had for long been fomented by foreign agents in Arabia and Palestine were countered by broadcasts in Arabic by and the production of "The Arabic Listener," published by the B.B.C. This was the first illustrated periodical newspaper to be printed and published in England in the Arabic language. To it contributed the leading men of letters in the Arab world and friends of the Arab race. This journal was circulated...
ruSo-FInNish PROPAGANDA

Here are examples of propaganda depicting the Russo-Finnish war. On the right, a giant loudspeaker in the Finnish lines aids for broadcasts to the Russians by Finnish officers. Below, a Russian propaganda banner. It reads: "We do not fear your attacks, but we shall answer the blow of the aggressors with a double blow."

Facilities for Foreign Journalists

Illustrating Allied action and achievements, were circulated throughout the world. In addition to films made by companies of world-wide standing, in which British propaganda was subtly grafted on to a good story—films like "The Lion Has Wings" and "For Freedom"—there were the productions of the G.P.O. Unit, which in peacetime had turned out some of the most remarkable documentaries seen on the screen. This unit now turned its attention to propaganda films, many of which were released in foreign countries with great success.

As in the First Great War, official artists were chosen, appointed by an Artists' Advisory Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Kenneth Clark, Director of the National Gallery, to record the war as they saw it both at home and abroad. In Britain, too, artists were employed on such essential propaganda as designing posters in connexion with Civil Defence, Saving Schemes, "Digging for Victory," etc., not forgetting the amusing series of posters designed by Foujassé (one of which is printed in page 820) to illustrate the evils of thoughtless gossip. These latter were criticized in some quarters as being too "frivolous" for such an important topic; but, as Foujassé himself pointed out in a broadcast talk, "the British tradition does not like having its dangers dramatized and it doesn't want its patriotism dramatized either."

We have mentioned a few of the multifarious activities of the Ministry of Information. Let us add, in conclusion, that the Ministry contained a Press Bureau for foreign journalists where they could find all the information they desired regarding the Allied activities, and from which they could obtain direct communication with their respective countries. Needless to say, the work of the Ministry was at all times carried out in close collaboration with its counterpart in France, and M. Frossard, the French Minister of Propaganda, visited London to confer with the British Minister. In page 870, he is seen in conversation with Sir John Reith during such visits. French newspaper proprietors, too, and journalists of many countries visited Britain and under the auspices of the Ministry were shown Britain's war effort at first hand.

Britain in the main adopted what might be called a "long term" policy with regard to her propaganda, dispensing with hyperbole and distortion and relying on the fact that in the long run "truth will out," whereas Goebbels based his work on a "short term" policy, hoping that it would achieve its aims before the time came to explain away lies, discrepancies, and the bankruptcy of Nazi policy. The aim of British propaganda, in contrast to that of Germany, was the assertion of truth and, as far as was possible, the elimination of hatred.

Though it may not at all times have succeeded in realizing these aims, at least it did not adopt the smug, self-righteous attitude typified by that ridiculous figure "Lord Haw Haw" (whose appointment as chief exponent of the German viewpoint to English-speaking listeners over the air was surely the biggest psychological blunder the Nazis had committed), while secretly subscribing to a base code of Machiavellian expediency.
ROYAL CANADIAN AIR FORCE IN TRAINING

Before the War the Royal Canadian Air Force had a permanent establishment of 635 officers and 5,500 men; by November 1949 the force had increased to over 31,000 officers and men. The first contingent of the R.C.A.F. arrived in England in June 1940. Apart from this increase in her own air force, under the Empire Air Training Scheme pilots by the thousand were being trained on Canada's vast flying-fields, one of which this photograph was taken.
With The Fleet Air Arm

Gunners in the Fleet Air Arm employ a target: a dragon, or "stove," made of felt, which is fired through the air by a Swordfish. The dragon is shot at from various positions to accustom the air-gunners to the extreme action of an enemy plane. It is eventually dropped, to be retrieved by Wrens, the boiler being returned each boiler having two holes in the boiler—aid the total, divided by two, equal to the gunner's score.

On the aircraft carrier, crews engaged in servicing aircraft were dressed in white, coloured to indicate their individual mark. The officer in control of landing signals for returning aircraft has coloured armbands as well.

On the flight-deck of the aircraft carrier, "Hermes," serving crew receive their instructions in front of a Seafire fighter. Note the control passes in wing.

How the dragon appears to the air-gunner training on the Swordfish. Bottom left: Air-gunner wearing his "Mac Wool," suit their turn for target practice; the Wren in the centre keeps a record of all flights made.

Target practice over, Wrens pick up the bullet-ended coupons and bring them in for later to be examined.

A landing signal in H.M.S. "Hermes" does his yellow armbands preparatory to signalling-in returning planes.
through which the men marched to their place in the British sector watched their passing with eyes filled with wonder and admiration, and cheered again this demonstration of the Empire's unity.

Soon there were other arrivals on the Western Front as, at first in ones and twos and later in ever-increasing batches, the women of the Auxiliary Territorial Service crossed to France to take up their duties as cooks, signallers, clerks, and orderlies at the base ports on the lines of communication. Mrs. Fuller Maitland, Commander of the A.T.S., arrived with a staff of six some time in February, and the vanguard followed shortly afterward. Not only the women were interested in the "ten commandments" which, it was said, had been drawn up for their observance. They read as follows:

1. British women serving in France will be subject to military law like the soldiers.
2. A.T.S. members will get Army rations but only four-fifths of those issued to men. Their pay will be four-fifths of that paid to the B.E.F.
3. No frills or finery will be allowed. The women will be allowed to wear only the regulation cotton uniform. Silk stockings may be allowed.
4. Makeup, applied with discretion, will be allowed, but lipstick and powder will not be part of their issue.
5. The army will provide hair trims for the A.T.S. A simple bob will be the standard cut. Long hair will be permitted, provided it is kept neat.
6. "Premarital" between the A.T.S. and the B.E.F. will be allowed, and even encouraged. Officers of the A.T.S. may go out walking with male officers, and A.T.S.

other ranks will be permitted to keep company with soldiers.
7. Officers of one service may dine in a public restaurant with officers or privates of the other services.
8. The A.T.S. must salute their own officers and may be expected to salute male officers.
9. Army canteens will be open to the A.T.S., who may also visit B.E.F. soldiers' messes, if invited. The women may return the compliment. The A.T.S. may be allowed

to have a military allowance for necessitous relatives and even for a husband at home if the case warrants.
10. In the event of a marriage between a member of the A.T.S. and a member of the B.E.F., the girl would require to go home under the Army order prohibiting soldiers having their wives in the military areas in France.

The A.T.S., it may be noted, was not the first organization of British women.

FRENCH POULUS ON PATROL

The French army patrols in No-man's-land were carried out by special volunteers for this hazardous duty, known as 'Groups Frantc.' Above, a French soldier on patrol is traveling carefully through a coppice; while below, a reconnoitring party threads its way through a wood with rifles and revolvers at the ready.

Photos: (Motok, Paris) Associated Press
NAZIS IN NO-MAN'S-LAND

Activity on the Western Front during the first few months of 1940 was confined to reconnaissance work by small patrols from either side. Above, a German reconnaissance party making a cautious entry into a battered village between the lines. Left, a German relief moving up to take over an advance post.

Photos, Platoon News

In one of these engagements the first official casualty of the war was suffered by the British force in the Maginot Line. He was Lieut. P. A. C. Everitt, of the Norfolk Regiment, who was seriously wounded and taken prisoner on the night of January 6, in an affray west of Meurthe, on the Saar. He died shortly afterwards in a German hospital. There were other casualties about the same time, and a few days later the first hospital trains arrived in England, bearing a handful of wounded, suffering from bullet wounds or grenade splinters, and far more patients suffering from sickness or accident.

At the end of January the first Army casualty list of the war was issued, giving the names of more than 700 officers and men—and three women—of the Army who had died while on active service during the period from the outbreak of war to December 31, 1939. Of these casualties only 39 were incurred in action, viz. 13 killed, 1 died of wounds, 1 missing and 24 wounded. The remainder—719—died from accident or disease at home and overseas. Many of these casualties, it was disclosed, were due to traffic accidents arising in the course of troop movements at home and behind the line in France. Then on January 12 the first decorations for bravery in the field were awarded by Lord Gort to two members of the Norfolk Regiment—Capt. F. P. Barclay and L.-Cpl. H. Davis, who received the Military Gallantry, Gallantries, Coolness and Resource Medal respectively. In the words of the official statement, Capt. Barclay's award was "for conspicuous gallantry, coolness and resource when acting as a patrol leader on a night patrol," and it went on to describe how he led his patrol far into the enemy lines and secured valuable information. "In the hope of securing a prisoner," it proceeded, "he, with one of his men, entered and searched a house in which a fire was alight, and which was clearly occupied by the enemy. Having found no one in four rooms, he continued his reconnaissance to a near-by embankment. As he returned the enemy, who are believed to have been in the cellars, opened fire on the patrol with bombs and small arms fire. The patrol replied vigorously, and took cover in a neighbouring ditch, but in doing so lost touch with the other officer of the patrol, Captain Barclay endeavoured to get into touch with the other officer, but
LIAISON WORK ON THE WESTERN FRONT

The photographs in this page are illustrative of liaison work in the French army. They show: 1. the return of a reconnaissance patrol from enemy territory; 2. the chief of the patrol handing his report to a dispatch rider; 3. information furnished by the patrol is examined at French Headquarters; 4. an officer of H.Q. goes on to verify the report of the patrol.

Photos, France-Magazine
LABOUR CORPS AND ITS LEADER

On October 26th, 1939, recruiting opened for the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, composed of volunteers between the ages of 35 and 50, the duty of which was to ensure the maintenance of supplies to the British Army at home and abroad. Right is Major-General L. W. Ames—a most fitting name—commander of the A.M.P.C. Above, men of the Pioneer Corps are seen discharging bales from the hold of a ship at a British base in France.

Photos: British Official; Crown Copyright: Associated Press

without result. The enemy having started to work round his flanks, Capt. Barclay, having exhausted his bombs, withdrew his patrol without loss in spite of enemy bombing and small arms fire at close range. The patrol reached our lines, some 1,200 yards away, safely.

L-Cpl. Davis also displayed conspicuous bravery and coolness when on night patrol. It was stated that “he assumed his patrol leader to search a house in which a fire was burning and which was clearly occupied by the enemy, in the hope of capturing a prisoner. Later, when the patrol was discovered and heavy enemy bombing and small arms fire was opened on it, he displayed great determination and indifference to danger and set a fine example to the rest of the patrol.”

Another gallant episode had a happy sequel in the award of the Military Cross for gallantry in the field to Capt. J. A. Mackenzie, of the Gloucester Regiment. One night Capt. Mackenzie took out a patrol into the territory stretching in front of the Maginot forts:

the ground was frozen hard, covered deep in snow, and there was a bitterly cold wind. After two hours they had reached a point half a mile in advance of the outposts. There they rested for a few minutes; and as they did so they detected the rustle of an enemy patrol, drawing near in the dark. Capt. Mackenzie warned his men to remain absolutely silent and motionless. When the Germans were within ten yards he gave the order to open fire with a machine-gun, and two of the enemy were seen to fall while the rest scattered. The British patrol received no casualties, and made its way back to the outpost. Three hours later, with the consent of his commanding officer, Capt. Mackenzie went out again; this time with a strongly reinforced party. He was determined to fetch in the two Germans who had been seen to fall, whether they were dead or only wounded. He was absent three hours, and then, as dawn was breaking, returned with one dead German; the second man must have been carried away by his comrades. In the words of the official report, Capt. Mackenzie showed unusual qualities of ability, judgement and leadership, not only in having secured the German soldier, of great value for identification purposes, but also in having carried out his dangerous task without his own party suffering any casualties.

With the French, activity took the same form as in the British sector of the front—activity, that is, of patrols and outposts, prowling through No-man’s land, searching here and there for little bodies of the enemy engaged in the same work of reconnaissance and prisoner-hunting.

In this work pride of place was taken by the “Groupes Francs,” or Free Corps—men belonging to no one unit,
but bold spirits who revelled in excitement and danger, and had proved their willingness to undertake any and every risky job that might be required of them.

These men were all volunteers, usually about twenty years of age, and as a rule they worked in little bands under a leader, generally a lieutenant or sub-lieutenant, whom they trusted implicitly and who for his part knew to the full their individual worth. The Groupe France was first and foremost a team.

In actual practice their work was hardly to be distinguished from that of other military patrols, but there was all the same a distinctive quality about their operations which made them stand out from the ordinary rank.

Their primary endeavour was to bring back prisoners, and with this in view they were submitted to an arduous training which taught them how to slip through the masses of barbed wire without worrying about bullets whistling round and above them, to know every bump of earth and every tuft of grass, "smell out" traps, engage in hand-to-hand fighting, and set land mines, how to carry back their wounded and their prisoners, and, finally, how to be able to recognize and hold in their heads all those little observations which go to make up a really satisfactory reconnaissance.

The winter weather seemed to intensify, if that were possible, the air of deadliness which pervaded the towns and villages of the zone along the Rhine and east of the Vosges. Early in January Mr. Richard Capell, Special Representative of "The Daily Telegraph" with the French army, journeyed through the French Rhineland, through that pleasant countryside where in September all normal life had suddenly ceased at the touch of war. He remarked the untenanted villages, the abandoned fields, the unnatural stillness of the air. Yet, uninhabited as the land appeared, it was in reality bristling with troops who had never ceased to be busy since their arrival on the scene four months before. "If the Maginot forces hereabouts," he went on, "have not the prodigious dimensions and ramifications of those farther north, it is because the Rhine itself, that majestic flood, forms a line of defence which asks to be supplemented rather than rivalled. But that is not for a moment to say that anything has been left to chance. While the average soldier will tell you that the crossing of the Rhine is an impossibility, the French army might be supposed to have considered it a probability and planned accordingly."

As yet the French troops on that part of the Rhine front had had no fighting to do, although it was not recommended to announce your presence on the river bank, for bullets crossed the Rhine from time to time, and a machine-gunner might take it into his head to fire a few rounds. Nothing of which had been exchanged—the big guns had not begun to roar, but the Maginot defences had been multiplied indefatigably, and few objects on the landscape, Mr. Capell found, were as innocent as they looked. All around, skilfully concealed by the engineer's art, or rendered inconspicuous by camouflage, were concrete fortifications, machine-gun emplacements, and protected points of vantage.

But even more to be admired than this material preparation for the fray was the splendid spirit of the men themselves, the men who kept watch and ward in that Maginot Line which civilization's guards had reared as a rampart against the barbaric tide of Nazism. Mr. Capell paid tribute, high but well-deserved, to the troops who were holding the frontier in those days of fierce frost and biting wind, when the fields lay deep in snow, when the earth was like rock, and the thermometer dropped and dropped.

"The positions I have been visiting," he wrote, "are exposed to enemy observation, and no less to northerly
COUNTY REGIMENT WHICH GAINED FIRST AWARDS

On January 12, 1930, the first awards for bravery in the field were bestowed by Lord Gort upon two members of the Norfolk Regiment. Capt. E. P. Barclay, who received the M.C., and Lance-Cpl. R. Davis, who won the M.M. They are seen in the circle congratulating each other. Top, men of the Norfolk Regiment (the badge of which is seen top, left) placing in a sandbag all personal belongings before setting out on patrol. Above, the patrol in Norman's land. Left, approaching an outpost, men of the patrol are moving forward to investigate.

British Official Photographs; Cohn Copyright
WOMEN DRIVERS GO TO FRANCE

A detachment of the Women's Mechanized Transport Corps left for France early in 1940 to give active assistance to the R.E.F. Above, Mrs. G. M. Cook (second from left), the Commandant of the W.M.T.C., inspects equipment of members of the Corps in London, shortly before they left for overseas duties.

Photo Associated Press

winds which make it a real danger to expose one's ears even for half an hour. The food that is sent hot from the field kitchens at battalion headquarters is cold by the time it reaches the outposts. The soldier's pintard, the wine ration, arrives in solid blocks...

"Whether it is muddy November or frosty January," he proceeded, "life up here is not easy for the more or less permanent residents, and to represent it as in any way enjoyable would be to do injustice to the dogged temper of these men who were for the most part ordinary civilians a few months ago and are now unshaven and unwashed—wretchedly dressed with every knitted garment that came to them in their Christmas parcels, their eyes bloodshot with the smoke of dug-out fires—but admirably long-suffering and courageous and ready with a lively word for the passing stranger."

Cold, bitterly cold it was, so that to touch a piece of cold metal with the bare hand was to receive a sensation of burning. But, as one French gunner remarked, "it was twice as cold in Finland." Just as philosophic were the French Colonial troops, the Moroccans and the rest, who must often have thought longingly of the blazing sun and parched sands of Africa. Yet they delved deep into the soil, contriving dug-outs not only for themselves but for the Moroccan ponies which constituted their regimental transport. Their only complaint was that of all the men on the Western Front in the winter—lack of lighting, of "real" war. But what with cards and letter-writing, constant tea drinking and eating the sticky delicacies of their homeland, the music of guitar and flute, the endless tales of the storytellers, they made the time of waiting pass.

Not the daily sacrifice of blood but incessant toil was the keynote of that phase of the struggle on which the New Year supervened. All along the Western Front, but particularly in the sector taken over by the British, there was intense field engineering work—bridging railways and rivers, building aerodromes, boring for water, tunnelling and trench digging, construction of camps and huts, concrete forts and emplacements, surveying and mapping, provision and improvement of transport facilities, and so on. In this war as in its predecessor the sappers were always to the fore, and their specialized activity was supplemented by the labour of the men of the Auxiliary Military Pioneer Corps, who now, fresh from road-making and house-building in Britain, dug in the soil of France. There were special companies which handled giant excavating machines, trench diggers, cable layers, and mechanical spades designed to shovel up earth to make trench revetments. Not least of the many respects in which 1940 differed from 1914 was the enormously increased employment of mechanical power. The infantryman's spade and entrenching tool were being supplanted more and more by the great and powerful machine which dug and churned and tossed the soil.

So the vast preparations for the day when the war should really begin went on uninterruptedly, and with the closest cooperation of the Allied armies and air forces. "Harmony was complete," declared M. Daladier just after attending the meeting of the Supreme War Council held in Paris on February 6—harmony in policy and in action, on the home front and not less in that silent, wind-swept zone where the guardians of Western civilization stood ever to arms.
BRITISH HOWITZER IN HIDING

In the forward areas of the R.F.F. on the Western Front advantage was taken of all available cover for the guns. Above, a howitzer of the Royal Artillery is seen in its conical emplacement in the corner of a barn, surrounded by a parapet of sandbags.

British Official Photograph, Crown Copyright

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COUNTY REGIMENTS WITH THE B.E.F.

Here are some of England’s famous county regiments, once again fighting in France. Left, a Company Commander of a battalion of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment; above, men of the Dorsetshire Regiment having their dinner in what was once a brewery; below, a working party of the Durham Light Infantry on fatigue in a French street. Regimental badges also are shown.

British Official Photographs - Crown Copyright
FAMOUS REGIMENTS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

In this page are seen members of three famous Scottish regiments serving with the B.E.F. in France.

Above, a group of the Royal Scots in "standing to" in an advanced post during the inclement winter.

Right, Grenadiers writing home from their billet in an old French farm. Below, Lord Gort inspecting trenches dug by men of the Gordon Highlanders.

British Official Photographs: Crown Copyright
ANOTHER SHIP THE NAZIS 'SANK' BY RADIO

H.M.S. "Repulse," above, a battle-cruiser of 32,000 tons, was repeatedly reported as sunk by the German broadcasting stations. But this Nazi news was given the lie when she put into Plymouth after a 230 days at sea to give her crew a well-earned leave. Below: Liberty men of the "Repulse" going ashore for a welcome change.

Photos: C.E. Broom / O.P.U.
OFFENCE AND DEFENCE ROUNDF BRITAIN'S COASTS

When, on February 27, 1940, Mr. Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, presented the Naval Estimates in the form of token votes, he reviewed briefly the work of the Navy in its fight against the Nazi menace at sea. We give here part of this speech, which followed his request to the House of Commons for: "a few men, some ships and a little money."

So to the Navy has been and is being the main weight of the war, and many vociferous and dangerous forms of attack are directed upon us, but if at any time in the future it becomes apparent that we have not the upper hand in an even more marked and decisive form than at present, I shall be the first to propose a review of our resources and requirements, and we have quite a lot, in order to add the national war effort in other directions.

That time has not yet come. We must ensure that attacks will be delivered upon the sea power by which we live, on which all depends, on a far greater scale than anything we have so far hasted back and beaten down.

We must be prepared to stop the rest of the war in the sea, with additional preparations to meet these reinforced attacks, whether they come from U-boats, from the mining of various kinds, or from the air.

I believe that our killings of U-boats may be estimated at between two and four a week, but I qualified this by pointing out that it only applies to periods of U-boat activity, because, of course, when very few come out we could not achieve such figures. I believe it is safe to say that at the end of 1939 the Germans had lost from all causes at least half the U-boat fleet with which they began the war. If we put that first at about 70, this would leave them 35.

On the other hand, if we do not get some months ago when I told the House that the rate of German population of U-boats must be counted at two per week. This and even more may be true in the future, but it was not true up to the first of this year. I do not think it is yet, though even to 10 feet. U-boats came into action in that period.

Thus, the enemy may have ended the year with about 40 U-boats, of which, of course, about 20 would be required for training—leaving perhaps 20 for active operations. As these would work in two or three relays, the number at any one time cannot be very large. Indeed, our calculations show that it has probably not exceeded 10 at any one time. This figure must be compared with the figure of 60, all operating together, and on which three occasions marked the high period of the great U-boat campaign which we went through and broke in 1917. Since the New Year things have sharpened up on both sides and we are getting more U-boats, and we have had some exceptional weeks of proved results.

This may be satisfactory so far as it goes, but when we remember the substantial losses which we have suffered from these few U-boats operating up to the present, the House will see how vast must be the preparations which we ought to make and which we have made to cope with the full scale of attack which may come upon us.

Immense Shipbuilding Programme

Hitherto we have been fighting with the very modest number of destroyers we had ready at the beginning of war, and have been aided by several hundred of other small vessels, the bulk converted from civilian use, but all armed with the Aslites, with the depth charge, and the gun. But with the passage of the years the new building of U-boats will increase to come into play, and we expect to meet these with our very large new buildings of craft especially adapted to their destruction. The tonnage estimates provide for an immense programme; in fact, we shall be building this immense amount of capacity subject only to our conditions.

I have also undertaken, as a result of the Cabinet's request to try to make a large increase in the rate of merchant shipbuilding to replace the losses, we cannot get not only the leading ships, but also leading trade unionists into the Ministry of Fuel and Air, and that is a point of honour, and will pull together as they have never pulled before. It is very necessary.

The U-boat has been steadily driven from using the sea by all its great advantages of speed upon the surface, into the more ruthless and less effective warfare by the torpedoes, and it has been largely driven from using the torpedoes by the laying of mines, magnetic and others, in the approaches to our harbours.

The ordinary, nooned mines were familiar to us in the last war, but we had then one thousands of 900 vessels engaged solely on the task of sweeping them up and keeping the channels clear. The use of the magnetic mine produces an additional complication. There is nothing particularly novel or novel about it, although mechanistically it was very steady made.

I feel entitled to say that we see our way to mastering this magnetic mine and other variants of the same idea. How this has been achieved is a detective story written in a language of its own. Magnetism is a fairly exact science, and the complications and refinements can all be explored and measured. To be modest, we do not feel at all out of science in science by the Nazis.

Fishermen Volunteer for Minesweeping

To cope with the mining attack, we have had to call upon the fishing fleets and the fishermen. Although this year we have saw a number of fishermen at our disposal, we had at the end of November to call for many thousand volunteers for mining duties. There was a most willing response—but the engagement was only for three months. It is now reported that the loners must be extended for a year. The Service is, of course, not only dangerous but arduous in a very high degree. However, our volunteers from the fishing fleet seem to have taken a liking to it, and the Pelias, because there is no other road by which it can be got to the country, and that the job has to be done by men bred to the sea. In many respects over 75 per cent of those who volunteered for three months in November now wish to renew for the duration, and the Admiralty are going to meet their wish.

In their attack upon our shipping and naval advantage, the Germans have broken every rule hitherto accepted by the world for regulating mining warfare. But then besides this there are the outlaws they have committed upon the fishing fleet and small unmaned merchant vessels, and upon the lightships which warn mariners of all countries off the rocks and shoals. So execrable has been the behaviour of some of the German aviators in shooting unarmed unarmed vessels, and in machine-gunning the crews when in the boats, and in describing the rules what fun it was to see a little ship "cracking up in flames like a Christmas tree," that we have had to act about arming all our fishing boats and small craft, with the means of defending themselves, because it was found that nothing yields better results in respect of these raiders of this peculiar class than firing upon them at once. We have reason to know that several of these have appeared off very quickly when fishermen only newly given a weapon have fired back upon them.

Thousands of guns of all sorts and sizes are being issued to our merchant and fishing fleets. The Navy have reported back the use of this equipment in an increasing number of cases, all of which they have already broken several times over. They may, of course, apply their methods on a larger scale, but they have not for some time been allowed to descend to any new levels of cruelty and despair.

We must be very thankful that we have our sea power, our Navy, the champion of freedom across the centuries, strong enough and large enough to beat down all this which has been seen and described, and enable us to help our Allies by land and air in their splendid efforts. This great institution, which has lived through so many wars, still, in spite of changes which have taken place, is the foundation of our ability to survive the coming storms which are now at stake.
METAL FOR BRITAIN IN NAZI SHIP

These photographs tell the story of the capture of the German merchant ship 'Düsseldorf' off Valparaiso.

1. After the vessel had been stopped by a British destroyer, a crew is lowered in a whaler to board her.

2. With a British prize crew aboard, the 'Düsseldorf' proceed, escorted by the destroyer.

3. The German ship (White Ensign flying above the Swastika) at Balboa, just before passing through the Panama Canal.

4. Unloading metal from the captured ship, now renamed 'Empire Confidence' in London.

5. When the vessel discharged part of her prize cargo at Bermuda, the islanders refilled the hatches with scrap metal, some of which is here seen as a war gift to Britain.

Photos, Planet News; C.N.A.; Central Press
Chapter 61

THE SEA AFFAIR DURING FEBRUARY, 1940: A SUMMARY OF ACHIEVEMENT

After Six Months of War—Britain's Immense Naval Building Programme—Five New Battleships—Return of H.M.S. 'Repulse'—Swift Retribution for U-Boats—Loss of H.M.S. 'Daring' and 'Sphinx'—Sinking of the 'Beaverburn'—Ruthless War on British Traders—Foul Outrages Upon the Sea—Heavy Neutral Losses.

Each succeeding month of the war at sea brought new evidences of the mastery of the British Navy, and further indications of resourcefulness in dealing with new and more menacing forms of German attack. The high spot of February, 1940, was the brilliant cutting-out expedition of H.M. destroyer 'Cossack' in Norwegian waters, on the night of February 16-17, which resulted in the rescue of 299 British prisoners from the German auxiliary vessel 'Altmark' (see Chapter 63). Other events which made this, the sixth, month of the war notable were the return to home waters of the 'Ajax' and 'Exeter,' and to her base in New Zealand of H.M.S. 'Achilles,' victors of the battle of the River Plate; the continued immunity, with few exceptions, of ships sailing in convoy; the growing certainty of neutral nations at the ruthless sinking of their shipping; and the destruction of many predatory U-boats. Another feat for which the Navy deserved full credit was the transport to Suez without casualty of the 2nd Australian and New Zealand Expeditionary Force.

This month also saw a speeding up in the arming of smaller merchant vessels, with such satisfactory results that even fishing trawlers were able to scare off Heinkel bombers with a Lewis gun. It was during February, too, that the Nazi magnetic mines were dismantled and their secrets discovered. This story, however, and that of the devising of an adequate protection against these devilish machines belong properly to a later period, when more details became available.

The conclusion of six months of war, the main brunt of which had fallen on the Royal Navy and Mercantile Marine, was the apt occasion for a review of the war, and a summary of achievement was given by several responsible ministers. As far as the sea war was concerned, Lord Chatfield at Cardiff, the Prime Minister at Birmingham, and Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, paid ungrudging tribute to the magnificent efforts which during those months had maintained Great Britain in unassailable command of the essential trade routes. Less than one per cent of our total mercantile marine, said Lord Chatfield, had been destroyed. Over 50,000,000 tons of shipping, the Prime Minister told the nation, had entered or cleared from our ports. The loss by enemy action, said Mr. Churchill, on the balance of loss and gain had been 200,000 tons in six months, against 450,000 tons net loss in the single deadly month of April, 1917. As regards the convoy system, out of 10,097 merchant ships conveyed 10,076 had been brought safely home.

The First Lord, in introducing token estimates for the Royal Navy on February 27, laid before the House the figures at his disposal, and gave the opinions which the nature of his high office enabled him to form. He dealt first with the sinking of U-boats, explaining that his original estimate of from two to four a week referred to the periods when the boats were most active. Assuming that the Germans had 70 submarines available for service at the beginning of the war, at least half of these were definitely known to have been sunk. Of the remaining 35, about 20 would be required for training. It was doubtful whether at any given time more than ten were operating, and the First Lord compared this figure with that of 60 known to have been operating together on three occasions at the high peak of the great U-boat campaign of 1917. At the same time he struck a note of warning when he said that if ten submarines working together could inflict the damage already suffered by the Royal Navy and Mercantile Marine, how vast must be the preparations to cope with the full scale of attack which might come later on! To this end he foreshadowed

HALF A SHIP CALLS FOR HELP

In February, 1940, the British tanker 'Imperial Transport' was cut in two by a U-boat in the Atlantic. The crew took to the boats, but, finding that the stem still floated, they returned to what remained of their ship, and after an adventurous voyage brought her safely into Scotland ten days later. The appeal for assistance was painted on deck for the attention of friendly aircraft.

Photo, Keystone
an immense programme,” a large new building of craft specially adapted for submarine destruction.

He took an optimistic view of the attack by mines, dismissed the menace of the magnetic mine as by no means beyond the possibility of conquest, and paid tribute to the personnel of the fishing fleets who had volunteered, and continued to volunteer, for this very hazardous service. In referring to the big battleships he answered the criticism (so often heard) that they were really of very little use by saying that only an unquestioned superiority in battleships prevented the German heavy cruisers coming out into the Atlantic and obstructing or even arresting the whole of the enormous trade without which Great Britain could not live. While the enemy, with only two big ships, could not form a line of battle, the Royal Navy had at least three, if not four, lines.

Then came the comforting assurance that within a short time the Fleet would be reinforced by five modern battleships of the “King George V” class, designed to stand up much more effectively than any in existence to air and submarine attack. In point of fact, the older ships such as H.M.S. “Barham” had withstood attack remarkably well, as had also H.M.S. “Nelson.” This fifteen-year-old battleship, it was revealed for the first time, had been damaged by a magnetic mine in the early part of December, 1939. The secret had been well kept and had only just become known to the enemy, for the “Nelson” had been able to return to harbour under her own steam.

The Admiralty maintained its policy of discreet silence with regard to enemy losses of submarines as and when they occurred, but this rule was broken on February 9, when it was announced that two U-boats had been sunk by one destroyer when attacking a British convoy. This was the first time that the Germans were known to have employed two submarines in an attack on a single convoy, and the result might at least be supposed to have discouraged them from taking the same risk again.

It was afterwards learnt that the successful destroyer was H.M.S. “Antelope” (Lt.-Commander R.T. White, R.N.).
HALF SUNK BENEATH THE WAVES

The 5,000-ton Glasgow steamer "Loch Maddy" was torpedoed by a U-boat on February 24, 1940. The photographs above show: left, the bow half of the "Loch Maddy" sinking beneath the waves; right, the stern half of the vessel taken in tow by another ship.

PHOTO: TROPICAL PRESS

A vessel of 1,350 tons, with a speed of 35 knots; her armament was four 4.7-inch and six smaller guns, supplemented by eight torpedo tubes. She and her sister ships of the "Acosta" class were the first destroyers to have their torpedo tubes quadruply mounted, an arrangement that enables salvos of torpedoes to be fired.

A few days later (on February 14) the Admiralty announced that two more U-boats which had attacked British merchant ships had been sunk. The merchantmen were the "Gretafield" (10,190 tons), the "British Triumph" (8,501 tons) and the "Sultan Star" (12,906 tons). These vessels were sunk, but in the case of the "Sultan Star," she said to have been the first British merchant ship to have been lost during the war, the U-boat survived its victim only by half an hour.

On the same day the British battlecruiser "Repulse," which the Germans

FRENCH DESTROYER'S SUCCESS

On February 27, 1940, the French Admiralty announced that the destroyer "Simoun" had rammed and sunk a German submarine after having forced her to the surface with depth charges. The "Simoun" was a sister ship of the "Siroco," illustrated in page 537. Right is the captain of the "Simoun," Capitaine de Corvette Bataille, a most appropriate name.

PHOTO: TROPICAL PRESS; REPRINTS
AFTER THE BOMBS HAD FALLEN

H.M. minesweeper "Sphinx" was attacked by a German bomber on Feb. 1, 1940. The photograph above, taken from a sister ship, shows the "Sphinx" after being severely hit. The ship from which the photograph was taken, after rescuing survivors, took "Sphinx" in tow, but the minesweeper foundered in heavy weather.

Photo. T. J. Banham

The "U"-boat was surfacing at the time and must have been either sunk or very badly damaged.

On February 22 the Admiralty announced the loss of H.M. trawler "Fileshire," under the command of Acting Sub-Lieutenant J. Y. Scarboro-Wood. The vessel was sunk by enemy aircraft, 21 lives being lost and only one member of the crew being picked up.

A sister ship (the trawler "Solen") was similarly attacked, but drove off the enemy aircraft and returned safely to port.

There was no doubt that the U-boat which on February 22 torpedoed the Glasgow steamer "Loch Maddy" (4,996 tons) quickly met her doom by the agency of the British warship which rescued the merchantman's survivors. About an hour and a half after we had left the ship in the lifeboats," said one of them, "we saw a warship which came over in answer to our flares and asked if we were all right. It then left us, and shortly afterwards there were two heavy explosions. The warship returned later to pick us up." This news was published on February 27, and during his speech in the House of Commons on the following day Mr. Winston Churchill said:

"We don't make announcements of U-boat sinkings unless there is some feature of special interest. They are wrapped in mystery. As these things are mentioned, I don't mind saying that they are an understatement. Actually in the last two days there was one certain and two almost certain."

The French Navy also was not inactive in submarine chasing, though its opportunities were more restricted. On February 27 the French Admiralty announced that the 1,319-ton destroyer "Simoun" had rammed and sunk a U-boat, having first forced her to the surface with depth charges.

The most serious loss suffered by the British Navy during this period was that of H.M. destroyer "Daring" (Commander S. A. Cooper). This was announced on February 19, and with it the grievous news that nine officers and 148 ratings were missing and that only one officer and four ratings had been picked up. For the first time it was stated without doubt that a British destroyer had been sunk by torpedo. In other cases the possibility of sinking by mine had not been precluded.

The "Daring" (1,375 tons) was of the "Defender" class, completed in 1932, and was a sister ship to H.M.S. "Duckwells," lost in collision with another naval vessel in December, 1939. Her destruction brought the total number of destroyers lost since the outbreak of war up to six, others being "Blanche," "Gipsy," "Grenville" and "Exmouth."

Earlier in the month the Navy also lost her first minesweeper (that is, apart from trawlers so employed), when H.M.S. "Sphinx" (Commander J. R. N. Taylor) sank on tow after air attack. She had been severely hit by enemy bombs on February 3. Her engines were disabled, and she foundered in heavy weather while being towed into port. Very big seas were running when the tow parted and the ship finally capsized. Unfortunately, this disaster was accompanied by heavy loss of life—the commander, four officers and forty-nine ratings. Her war complement was 100. The wreck was later discovered upside down on the beach at a point on the north-east coast. A German mine claimed H.M. trawler "Beaulieu," and on February 24 the Admiralty announced that the commanding officer and nine ratings were missing and believed to have been lost.

British merchant shipping suffered severely during the month (the week ending February 17 being the worst since the outbreak of war). The first heavy loss was that of the Canadian Pacific steamer "Beaverburn" (9,874 tons), sunk by torpedo off the south-west coast on February 5. She was a cargo vessel on regular service between the St. Lawrence and the Thames, and fortunately 76 out of 77 of her crew were saved. Almost all of these sinkings occasioned deeds of heroism. One of the heroes of the "Beaverburn" was Harry Teare, of Southampton, third engineer, who risked his life by remaining in the engine-room to switch off the engines, and thus saved many of his shipmates by preventing an explosion. He reached the deck as the ship went under, his action enabling four of the
GALLANT HEROES OF THE FISHING FLEET

Despite repeated dastardly attacks from the air the men of the East Coast trawlers refused to be intimidated, and bravely carried on with their work. The photographs on this page show: top, the little trawler 'Starbank,' which beat off a German bomber in the North Sea; left centre, the crew of the 'Star of the Isles,' which fought another German bomber; above, naval aircraft circling to attack a trawler; left, one of the twin Lewis gun turrets supplied to the trawlers to help in protecting them against air attacks.

Photos, Thomas Lea / Topical Press

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ship's boats to get away. Then he stood quietly with the water breaking over the deck, waiting to choose a spot from which to jump. He was finally rescued while clinging to a spar.

The hero of the "Sultan Star," the meat ship referred to above, was the wireless operator—P. S. Winson, of Greenwich, Middlesex. When the order was given to abandon ship, Winson was still at his instruments sending distress signals, to which he had as yet had no response. He refused point-blank to leave until he had had the "All Clear." Two-thirds of the ship were submerged when at last he left her, and while he remained on board he was buffeted by the heavy swell and by wreckage from the cargo. His captain said:

"It was a most extraordinary sight to see her finished lying along the surface of the water with the sea pouring into her, and there was 'Sparks' still up there waiting for his 'All Clear' signal. When there seemed no possibility of his escaping he jumped out on the port side, got hold of a rope and slid down into the water. A minute or so later the ship disappeared."

A loss involving much hardship to passengers occurred on February 7, when the motor vessel "Munster," newest mail ship on the Liverpool—Northern Ireland service, struck a mine in the Irish Sea and sank twenty-three miles from port. She was carrying 200 passengers and crew, all of whom were saved when her S.O.S. signals by siren (her aerial was smashed) were answered by the collier "Ringwall." But many had been injured and suffered from exposure. The "Munster" was flying the flag of Kire and had the Kireann tricolour painted on her sides.

A feature of the period under review was the frequent—almost daily—attacks on smaller shipping: one of the most cheerful aspects was the power of defence given to the crews of humble craft by the installing of light armament. We could recount many stirring tales of retaliation against German aerial attack by the crews of trawlers, and quote one or two typical ones. On February 19 fourteen trawlers beat off an enemy plane which attacked them, and next day three more (Grimsby vessels) forced Heinkel bombers to withdraw. The skipper of the little "Tartan" (202 tons), when the bomber dived to attack his ship, gave orders for the vessel to be zigzagged. He said:

"The trimmer, Ted Draper, an ex-soldier, meanwhile had got our newly fitted gun ready. The plane dived, releasing a bomb and firing its machine-gun. The machine

The Heinkel sheered off.

On February 22 a number of trawlers fishing in the North Sea drove off raiders with their newly installed machine-guns. Two aircraft swooped down on a single trawler, the "Outfall," a mile from the Norfolk coast, but were met by a stream of bullets, and immediately turned and fled. Another raid in which to machine-guns six East Coast trawlers was also driven off. Mr. W. N. Normandeau, skipper of the "Athenia," said:

"We were treading when a 'plane came out of the mist, and we did not know whether it was friendly or not. Then the raider's gunners began to fire, and I told my fellows to let him have it. We gave him about 45 rounds from our Lewis gun, and after twice evaporating on us he found it too hot and made off."

The bomber next made for the trawler "Rhib," but after one dive gave up the attack. The skipper said: "I think the pilot saw our gun and realized that we, too, had an answer for him."

This provision of defensive armament, which quickly proved so successful, was rapidly increased: during February the First Lord was able to announce that thousands of guns were being issued to the merchant and fishing fleets.

The magnificent work of the R.A.F. Coastal Command in directing the rescue of shipwrecked sailors continued during the month. On February 7 seven men were picked up afloat on a boat; on the next day nine men who were in difficulties in a rough sea were rescued, after aircraft in the one case had directed a trawler and in the other a small fishing smack to the rescue.

Some days later ten shipwrecked sailors, eight of them lying exhausted in the bottom of a drifting lifeboat in the North Sea, were spotted by an R.A.F. plane on patrol. By means of coloured lights the pilot guided two minesweepers 15 miles to the open boat. He circled round until the men had been picked up and then resumed his patrol.

On February 23 the pilot of another R.A.F. Coastal Command aircraft on patrol saw in the half-light of early morning a dark object floating on the water. On coming above it he discovered it to be a raft to which six men were clinging. Within 50 minutes they were safe aboard a British destroyer.

Though such stories sound a cheerful note, they cannot obliterate the memory of many more that are marked by unrelieved horror, the result of what Mr. Churchill called Germany's "foul outrages upon the sea." Of this class perhaps the most ghastly was the story told by survivors of the Greek steamer "Eleni Statodos" (5,525 tons). This ship was torpedoed, and the crew of 36 took to two lifeboats. One of these with 27-aboard was swamped, and all had to crowd into the remaining boat. They had quite inadequate provisions and were adrift for five days. Lack of food and drink, together with exposure and

CHEERING THE HEROES OF THE 'AJAX'

On February 23, 1940, seven hundred officers and men of the cruisers 'Ajax' and 'Zetland' marched through the streets of London to Guildhall, where they received a civic welcome and the expression of the country's gratitude for the gallant part they played in the battle of the River Plate. Above, men of the 'Ajax' being cheered as they marched along the Embankment.
mental strain, took a heavy toll. On the third day two men died after first going mad. Next morning three more were dead. Altogether thirteen were frozen to death. The survivors were helpless and had no means of propulsion but a tiny sail. One of them told of their anguish when a trawler came close by them and failed to respond to a signal by police whistle. Other ships passed near by but did not see them, and eventually this unhappy boatload drifted on to the coast and was towed ashore by a motor boat.

As the war proceeded the neutrals suffered even more in proportion than the British mercantile marine, but the protests and remonstrances they made to Berlin produced nothing but a more ruthless prosecution of the war against them. One of the most flagrant breaches of international law occurred on February 10, in the deliberate sinking of the Holland-America steamer "Burgerdijk," a vessel carrying passengers and a cargo of grain from New York to Rotterdam—a neutral ship bound for a neutral port and carrying no contraband. The captain of the German submarine would listen to no argument of this character; he gave passengers and crew half an hour to take to the boats, and then sank her. The survivors were fourteen hours adrift.

But "strong protests" and "serious representations" made by the Netherlands Government—and in many
from attack in any waters into which a U-boat could penetrate, for practically all trade routes to Europe pass through waters where Britain had opened control stations. Holland must necessarily be the worst sufferer, as no ships from her colonies or from any other neutral nations could reach a Dutch port without passing through the British contraband control. Therefore it would seem that the "sink at sight" ruling was now applied to all neutral shipping.

No account of sea affairs during February, 1940, would be complete without reference to the reception on February 25 for the officers and men of the "Ajax" and "Exeter," victors with the "Achilles" of the battle of the River Plate. After a triumphant march through the streets these heroes were entertained to luncheon at Guildhall. It was fitting that on the other side of the world, at the same time, officers and men of H.M.S. "Achilles" were being entertained in their native New Zealand at the city of Auckland. In the London Guildhall the First Lord struck the keynote of the occasion when he said:

"Warriors of the past may look down on us now without any feeling that the island race has lost its daring." The battle with the "Graf Spee," he said, had in a dark, cold winter warmed the cockles of the British heart; and in a notable phrase he added:

"But it is not only in the few glittering hours, glittering, deadly hours of action which rivet all eyes—it is not only in those hours that the strain falls upon the Navy. Far more does it fall in the weeks and months of ceaseless trial and vigilance on the stormy, icy wave, dark and foggy nights when at any moment there may leap from the waves death and destruction with a sudden roar."
FINLAND'S INTREPID STAND AGAINST RUSSIA

From the many appeals on behalf of a valiant little country fighting against overwhelming odds we select and reproduce three, made by the Finnish President, his Prime Minister, and the Finnish Minister in London. Last come the Swedish Premier's speech to the Senate of his policy of neutrality, which was to have such far-reaching effects, and a short extract from a speech by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

President Kallio, in a Broadcast Address to the Finnish Army, December 17, 1939:

There is no need for us to testify to our innocence with regard to the outbreak of the war, for the League of Nations, where 48 nations were represented, has unanimously branded the aggressor. Forty of those nations condemned the U.S.S.R. to expulsion from the League, and no voice was raised in her defense. We have noted with the greatest satisfaction, and now remain waiting for the measures which the member States of the League will take against the aggressor. We are deeply grateful for the economic help and very profound sympathy that have fallen to our lot. But everyone knows that in modern warfare the decision lies in the hands of the men on the ground, and to them we address our appeal, so that we need more active help than we have so far obtained.

As our cause is the joint cause of the whole civilized world, we believe that the civilized nations cannot leave us to fight alone on this front. But even should that prove to be the case, which we do not believe, the Finnish people cannot yield in the face of aggression, for we understand that if principles of justice are to be trodden under foot by the strong, and that our ancient western civilization will have lost its most dependable corner-stone.

We do not deny that our hearts are our own homes, our land, our culture, our whole social system, in which we have become rooted and which is now threatened with destruction. But it is just through these values that we have been able to contribute our share to the world's culture, and therefore we dare to hope that these common cultural values and principles of justice will also be commonly defended. In the front line the Finnish defense forces now stand in arms against an attacker whose aim is to destroy—in addition to our independence—these common values as well. Will the civilized nations permit this to happen?

Together with the Fatherland and serving relatives, we salute you in all solemnity those heroes who have fallen in the defense of our country. Our consolation is the knowledge that they have known no better fate than that which Bolshevism would bring us.

M. G. A. Griftenko, Finnish Minister in London, in a Broadcast Address, December 24, 1939:

If the years since we gained our complete independence, we have built up a State whose border is one of the highest and who have lived in the shaping of the destiny of the State, who have given all classes, and who, thanks to a far-reaching social legislation, the power classes are in every respect assisted and supported as far as our economic means permit. We have built up a State with its millions of people, with its thousand communities, with its million homes and new welfare organizations, a State where every man, no matter what his origin, can reach the highest offices, a State in which every man has the right to think and to speak freely, to worship as he pleases, and to follow whivered the teaching or occupation he prefers. You will understand, therefore, why we are now standing and fighting to resist the Russian attempt to destroy us. All these things which we—and indeed you—hold dear and which are not shared, are at stake: our heritage from past generations, our freedom, the very life of our women and children.

M. Ryti, Finnish Premier, in an Appeal to the Western Powers, December 30, 1939:

So far as Finland is concerned the Bolshevist attack is a mere episode in that, for geographical reasons, we have become the first victim of the aggression, but its world-swinging influence lies in the circumstance that we represent the first in the striving of Bolshevism to impose its doctrines by force on the whole world.

Those who sit today in their peaceful homes feeling an expressed sympathy for us, may tomorrow be in our position unless the boudoir can be stopped before it gathers momentum. If the war between Russian Great Powers continues, the victims and suffering it claims will, in each of these countries, undermine the social structure and prepare the soil for the spread of Bolshevism. For this reason, the present situation demands of the coalition the closest possible scrutiny of all possibilities of warding off the threatening common danger.

Finland has, against her will, under compulsion, exchanged the modest part which is rightly hers for that of an important character on the world stage. So far she has played her role well. She has shown how a common danger unites a free people completely and to the last man gives them an inner force, the strength of which exceeds all hopes. We have shown that the fate of western civilization is, after all, not hopeless. As time goes on, if we are left to our own resources, our sole will naturally expand our powers. Against the ever-fresh attacks of material hostility, we stand as from endless stores, the same Finnish battalions will stand on our side, with the same limited and sufficient ammunition. But we know that the hearts of the neutral nations are with us; and that before our eyes, our hands will be helping us. What has so far happened has given us the complete assurance that help will be forthcoming, that it will come on a sufficient scale, and that it will come in time.

Dr. Hansson, Prime Minister of Sweden, in a Broadcast Address, February 20, 1940:

There is no other real alternative to the present Swedish policy except military intervention, although the Government's critics do not, as a rule, openly advocate the course, confiding themselves with the demand for efficient and more efficient, help for Finland.

It is understandable if our country does not choose the course of war itself. It must reckon on the possibility of being forced to use armistice to defend its vital interests, liberty and independence. Before such a necessity, which I hope we shall not have to face, the Swedish people will not hesitate. But it has the right and the duty to use all honourable means to avoid this necessity. Should the necessity arise, unity within the nation is an indispensable source of strength. It has already been made clear that unity cannot be attained over a policy aiming at military intervention, that is, mortifying the war.

Another point of view is not to be dismissed as a hypothesis among others. It is my conviction that by our attitude we have not only chosen the best way of safeguarding Sweden's interest, but have also created the best opportunity for helping Finland. What declarations and trials we may yet have to face nobody can fully foresee. May we be prepared to face them with our national unity unimpaired.

Dr. Land, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a Sermon on behalf of the Finland Fund, March 3, 1940:

Finland is the protagonist of civilization at this most strange and mysterious epoch in the world's history. Finland is a modern Thermopylae, standing at the gates and guarding civilization against a wicked barbarian invasion. Our sympathy for the heroic Finnish army and people needs no persuasion. It is the instinct of our hearts. Whatever the issue may be, the people of Finland understand that without them the victory is lost, and the vision of the Allies is secured, and this reign of brute force ended. Finland will be restored to its freedom and independence.
Chapter 62

FINLAND'S HEROIC STRUGGLE CONTINUES: THE FIGHT FOR THE KARELIAN ISTMUS

'Condemned to Death Unless...'-Decisive Battle of the War-
Russians Pierce Mannerheim Line—The Finns Withdraw and Gain a Respite—
Abandonment of Kouvisto Fortress—Finnish Victory at Kitele—Annihilation of
the Russian 18th Division—Huge Russian Losses at Kubmo—Foreign Volunteer
Brigade Arrives—The Petsamo Sector—Unwavering Skill and Bravery

"FINLAND is condemned to death if she does not get assistance and get it quickly...
Miracles have been worked, but nobody can expect that they will go on happening indefinitely..." These were the words spoken by the Finnish Minister in Paris at the end of January, 1940. Two days later the Finnish Parliament began the first session ever held in wartime. This was an impressive gesture, a convincing demonstration to their own people as well as to the outside world that the entire nation stood united behind government and army, that the country was ruled democratically, and that Helsinki was determined in no way to capitulate to ruthless Russian attacks. Finland's farmer President, Kusti Kaarlo, opened the session with a short outline of the situation, emphasizing that Parliament was of such importance to Finland that it had to meet even under the most difficult and dangerous conditions. He praised the Finnish women, of whom he said: "Of our womenfolk the fatherland demands the enterprise of a Martha and the heart of a Mary."

The decisive battle of the war had begun on the Isthmus when Parliament assembled. Hoping to break the resistance of the Finnish civil population, the Russians intensified their air activities, obviously working on a pre-planned plan. There was, however, little night flying, for which the Soviet airmen apparently were not trained. Otherwise the conditions were excellent for nightly air attacks, as the bright snow counteracted the black-out.

The Finnish defences against the terror from the skies were still almost negligible. On February 9 Hangö reported that in 30 raids 1,278 bombs, mainly incendiary, had been dropped on the town; the morning raid was generally called the "alarm clock," with such regularity was it repeated day after day, but only four women and one man had been killed so far. In other towns the death roll was considerably larger, e.g., in Rovaniemi, Mykkel, Kopio, Abo, Viipuri, Sortavala, Ekenäs, to name but a few of those places which suffered most. Several of these towns were burning for days on end, but nowhere did the raiders cause panic. The A.R.P. work and the fire brigades were well organized, and the population kept exemplary discipline. Although the Russian air arm greatly improved, the bombing of the Swedish town Pajala on February 21 showed that Soviet flyers had mistaken it for a Finnish town. By a coincidence the Swedish boat "Pajala" had been torpedoed by a German submarine only five days earlier.

The Finnish air force, for a long time practically non-existent, grew gradually, and later in the month began to make itself felt, though still insufficiently. In the north three British "Gladiators" routed 21 Red bombers. Manoeuvred by Italians, Britons, Swedes and Finns, the Finnish fighters attacked whenever they found a chance; after 88 days of war more than 500 Russian aeroplanes had been brought down, and the Soviet army had lost almost a thousand of their best airmen.

For weeks gunfire raged against the sectors around Iatjhalenjarvi and Taipale, the two extreme points of the Finnish positions on the Karelian Isthmus, while a heavy Russian barrage hammered away at the entire Mannerheim Line. Viipuri was bombarded by the Russian "Big Berthas" from Peurjarvi. Hundreds of aeroplanes, unloading their bombs, assisted in pounding the Mannerheim Line. Finland was attacked by 500,000 men, and almost half this army was relentlessly thrown against the fortified positions on the Isthmus.

As early as January Russian loudspeakers, shouting at the Finnish front line, boldly boast that Stalin's soldiers would march into Viipuri on February 5 at the end of February they had reached Sommersen, seven miles south of Viipuri (see map in page 560). The badly damaged western wing of the Mannerheim Line was bent back; a twenty-mile stretch of strong positions was penetrated by the invaders.

In the centre, however, their gains were not half so great, and the eastern part (the Taipale sector) remained intact, in spite of 117 attacks which the Russians had launched against this part of the Isthmus since December, sometimes across the frozen Lake Ladoga. Early in the war the Finns spoke of Taipale as their "Verdun"; this title, however,
AFTER SOVIET PLANES HAD PASSED

On the afternoon of February 17, 1939, the Soviet Air Force made a violent bombing attack on Tuchu (Aho) in the south-west of Finland. Several railway tracks laden with petrol were set on fire, and the photograph shows firemen salvaging furniture from the head office of the Tuchu Petrol Company.

Photo, Associated Press

rightly passed in February to the small village of Summa on the western flank.

Four hundred thousand men, 100 aeroplanes, 1,400 tanks ( amongst them some rolling fortresses of the 70-ton type), 2,000 guns (including 124-mm, howitzers mounted on rail carriages and "Big Berthas"), all Withdraw these were hurled against the Finnish positions day in and day out. After nearly three weeks the Finns had to give way, withdrawing partly to the main line of their defences and partly behind it. The Russians attacked with unabated ferocity. The Finns installed seismographs in their underground shelters and thus could reliably report how many hundred thousand shells were daily poured on their positions. Voroshilov did not count the cost, either in material or in human life. On the average two thousand Russians were killed on the Isthmus every day, and the protracted offensive there meant an additional expenditure of about four million pounds a day to the Soviets. Obviously the intensity and stubborness of this attack were not due simply to the desire for a triumphal celebration of the 22nd anniversary of the foundation of the Red Army; rather was it that the Russians knew very well that heavy snowfalls might impede their movements at any moment, and that in a few weeks the thaw would set in. Then in front of the Finnish defences would stretch mighty lakes which at present were bridged by solid ice.

After the thaw Mannerheim's troops would have to cover only about a third of the previous line on the Isthmus, mostly narrow defiles between the lakes. The country would become even more impossible for mechanized units than during the winter. In addition there was the political situation—Germany urging Russia to give her the promised assistance, and the fear that the Allies might intervene. There was also anxiety lest a protracted war against Finland might lead to political repercussions inside Russia. In short, Stalin realised that time was marching on. The Red Army had to break the Mannerheim Line regardless of cost while the ice still held.

Most of the brave defenders had to fight without respite, scarcely snatching one night's sleep in two. They had to endure unceasing artillery fire and bombing from the air, to repulse the Russian tank and infantry attacks, and to counter-attack—and then the vicious circle would begin all over again for them; on the other side the Reds relieved their own shock troops every twenty-four hours, using every device of modern warfare. The Russians had learned the lesson for which they had so dearly paid. Not only had the quality of their troops improved, but their tactics had followed suit. Stubborn resistance was put up by all the cut-off Soviet divisions from north of Lake Ladoga to Salla, and changed methods of assault were adopted on the Isthmus. The offensive against Pajala on January 21 showed this tactical improvement for the first time; and the drive against Summa, starting in earnest on February 1, brought unmistakable confirmation. Finnish experts voiced the suspicion that German staff officers may have assisted the Russians.

The attackers employed smoke screens, artillery barrage and dronepl, tanks, and armoured sleighs; they arranged close cooperation between the tanks and the following infantry, and there were well co-ordinated attacks from the air, carried out by large squadrons of bombers accompanied by fighting planes. This proved that the Finns were now up against an enemy far superior in man-power and resources, who—with an adequate railway
BOMBING OF ROVANIEMI

The importance of Rovaniemi lay in its situation on the railway running from Kemí (on the Gulf of Bothnia) to Kemijärvi, at the point where the line connects with the Arctic Highway northward to Petsamo and Lainio. These photographs above: top left, the Pohjankoski hotel, which was bombed; above, a wrecked ward in a hospital at Rovaniemi; left, shattered houses in the town; below, a bomb bursting in the centre of Rovaniemi.

Photos, Planet News.
THE AIR WAR IN FINLAND

Here are some aspects of the aerial war in Finland. Above, Finnish soldiers taking away the remains of destroyed Russian bombers; left, an old Fokker C.V. two-seater, pressed into service by the Finns; below, left, General Laidzfist, chief at the Finnish Air Force; below, right, a captured Russian bomber which was turned to good use against the invader.

Photos: Fox, Central Press, Physical News
a joke about these armoured sleighs: "Decent of the Russians, to bring their own cutlery with them."

Behind the tanks followed battalion after battalion of infantry. The fire of the Russian heavy artillery was partly directed from captive balloons, and from aeroplanes; 190 bombing 'planes were in action to assist the attacking infantry. The Russians were beaten off, but they came again the following day, and this time the tanks were trailing the armoured sleighs behind them. Many parachutists were dropped behind the Finnish lines; most of them were shot in the air and others after landing, while some were taken prisoner. They were organized in patrols of seven or eight men, each group led by an officer, and carried either explosives for acts of sabotage or special radio transmitters to send information to the Russian staff. Some parachute patrols wore Finnish uniforms. The Soviet troops attacked up to five times a day. On the fifth they lost 100 parachutists and 25 tanks, but their supplies seemed to be inexhaustible.

and the next day 150 tanks came into action.

One characteristic episode shows the bitterness of the struggle and the courage displayed on both sides. A heavy Soviet tank had penetrated as far as the first Finnish line and stopped on top of a concrete casemate. The tank crew fired against the defenders' second positions, whilst the Finns in the casemate below continued their fire in the opposite direction against the advancing Red infantry. That went on for quite a while in a business-like way, until the tank commander thought better of it and withdrew, thus putting an end to a truly fantastic situation.

After ten days of unceasing attacks the Russians penetrated the advanced posts of the Mannheim Line near Latjalahdenjarvi and captured several concrete casemates. Ylipori was burning after many air raids, but the Finns had repulsed the Red offensive along the entire Isthmus front and had held their main line. Five to six Soviet divisions attacked the Summa-sector.

SWEDISH DOG TEAM WITH FINNISH ARMY

During the course of the Russo-Finnish war many Swedish volunteers went to the help of the Finns. Here is one of them, Ace Aspegren, who enrolled with the Finnish army of the North and took with him his team of pack dogs.

Photo, Central Press
in relays, and after February 10 night attacks carried out with glaring search-lights followed the assaults of the day.

A special correspondent of "The Daily Telegraph" reported as follows from the Summa sector on February 9 -

"While the Russians are pummeling away on a ten-mile front, the Finns are constructing new field defenses behind the permanent fortified positions. The Russian onslaught, with waves after wave of men and masses of material, has now continued unabated for eight days. Every twenty-four hours the Soviet commanders relieve the front-line division. So that the Finns are constantly fighting a fresh enemy. Summa, the little town that gives its name to the sector on which the Russians are concentrating their attack, is now nothing but a desolate ruin, because of the ceaseless bombardments."

Another correspondent wrote:

"The battering of the Summa sector of the Mannerheim Line on the Karelian Isthmus continued with uniminished ferocity today, the eleventh day of the Russian offensive there. According to the latest reports from neutral observers at the Front, the Finns appear to be holding their positions. It is difficult to believe that the Russians can maintain their pressure in view of the constant failure of infantry attacks, despite the air and artillery bombardments. The Russian Seventh Army which is carrying out the attack has made no tangible progress. This is in spite of the use of 200 guns on the narrow front and the concentration of most of its military and aerial strength, in addition to a colossal amount of mechanized units, calculated at nearly a thousand armored fighting vehicles. The tone of the battle is continuous. The bombing of Viipuri, which is the centre of communications in this area, is repeated with steady brutality."

The Finns counted between three and four thousand shells fired on their positions on the Isthmus in one day. Again and again the finest Soviet troops were repulsed only after fierce hand-to-hand fighting, in which the defenders used their "punko" knives. On February 14 Finnish headquarters reported:

"It was only in the area east of Summa that the enemy succeeded in capturing a few of our most advanced gun positions, but his advance was stopped in front of our gun positions farther back."

Readers will note that the term used was "gun positions," which usually are situated some miles behind the actual front-line.

The Finns are a taciturn people, Mannerheim and his staff being no exception. It is the more significant that a Scandinavian correspondent could report:

"Even Finnish headquarters now proudly use the term of 'The Miracle of Summa,' and consider the battles on the Isthmus surpassing the most successful of the Great War. The fantastic performances of the Finnish soldiers in this sector during the last twelve days must be regarded as unbelieveable heroism."

Omala, in the centre of the Isthmus, changed hands, but the Reda continued their attacks, ruthlessly and with outstanding bravery advancing over heaps of their dead comrades. Several thousands lay in front of Summa, one thousand on the ice of Lake Moala and 2,500 dead were counted before Tapiola. Soviet troops attacked the inland fortress of Kouvola over the frozen waters of the Gulf of Finland and tried to outflank Tapiola on the other wing by advancing over the ice of Lake Ladoga. But the position was getting very serious, as shown in a Finnish official communiqué, which said:

"So far we have succeeded in defending this strategic point; if attacks on this scale continue we shall need active military help of all kinds—men, arms and material, above all aeroplanes. We rely on the civilised nations of the world assisting us in this situation."

Successful counter-attacks at Summa, Lake Moala, Punkun and Tapiola once more stemmed the tide. Thirteen to seventeen Russian planes were brought down daily, and on the average 25 heavy tanks were put out of action. However, on the 16th, between Lake Moala and the Vuoski and east of Summa, the Russians had advanced some five miles from the positions they had held on February 2; 500 aeroplanes had co-operated in the attacks on the 16th.

The Finns had to withdraw in the Summa sector and to attempt to secure a respite by moving to new positions farther back. Mannerheim issued one of his very few proclamations:

"Soldiers! The hour has come to stop the enemy's attack with strength and determination in front of our new positions, to
CAPTURED RED STANDARD

After terrific fighting in the middle of February, 1940, the Finnish troops north of Lake Ladoga completely annihilated the 18th Russian Division. The photographs above show the captured standard of that division, which was later exhibited at Helsinki. Made of red silk, with gold lettering and embroidery, the banner bears on one side (left) a large red star and the inscriptions: "Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R." and "18th Jaarula Rifles Division." On the other side are a globe and attributes of the Soviet Union, together with the inscription: "Proletarians of all countries, unite."

Photo, Associated Press

RED WAR STORES LEFT IN FINNISH HANDS

Above is an anti-aircraft gun abandoned at Lemett (see map on page 865) by the defeated 18th Russian Division. The story of this remarkable victory is told in pages 665-666. On the left is a case of Soviet hand grenades captured by Finns during the fighting at Jänisjarvi.

Photo, Finnish News; Central Press
THE RUSSIAN DRIVE FOR VIIPURI

The contour map above illustrates the great Russian drive to secure Viipur. Having an overwhelming numerical advantage, the Russians hurled their troops against the Finnish positions regardless of losses, and succeeded in bending back the western wing of the Finnish defences, penetrating a two-mile stretch of the Mannerheim Line.

Map specially drawn for The Second Great War by Ellis Garden

which I have ordered you and which I am strengthening with new troops and artillery.

... Our nation is no longer alone in this struggle. Assistance from abroad has arrived on a considerable scale, and fresh troops are arriving to our colours.

— Finnish soldier! The situation offers us every possibility of success. Finland's people stand united behind us, relying on our strength. May we remain firm and unshakable in our belief in final victory.

February 17, 1940

MANNHEIM

The Finnish air force raided the Leningrad-Isthmus railway as well as Russian airbases. With a "bag" of twenty-four enemy machines brought down the Finns noted a record for a single day. Men 44-46 years old were called up for front-line service. These events in Finland stirred Swedish public opinion, which the Prime Minister could not calm. King Gustav V himself had to call a Cabinet meeting to deliver an address (in fact, meant for the Swedish masses) in which he tried to convince them that the unpopular policy of refining direct military aid to the Finns was the only possible policy for Sweden.

The Finnish voluntary retreat did not result in the desired result, mainly on account of the defenders' shortage of heavy guns. Unfazed, the Russians could move their guns into forward positions, assemble their shock troops, and recommence their assaults. The bigger calibres and, above all, the superior range of the Soviet guns told decisively. The Russians took Summa, and two days later their offensive went on as intensively as before. They passed the Koivisto fortress, which nevertheless held out. To make certain that the defenders would not shift their exhausted troops, two Soviet divisions launched attacks against Turpele. Kommers was still held by the Finns, and thus the invaders could not celebrate the 22nd birthday of the Red Army in Viipur. The day was the quietest for a long time. Two volunteer airmen each brought down a Russian aeroplane.

On February 27 the Finns brought down the 900th enemy plane. It was remarkable that throughout Europe people were talking of the "big war"—meaning the Allies' struggle with Germany—and of the "sideshow" in the North, and the grim intensity of the Russo-Finnish campaign was hardly realized. But although both armies engaged in the North numbered not many more than a million men, in their deadly trenches the war on land and in the air enormously outdid everything on the Western Front. For Helsinki that month concluded with a new record in air raid alarms—seven in one day.
FINNISH TRENCH MORTAR TEAM

The Pussuarm sustained heavy losses in their repeated attempts to smash a way through the Manerheim Line, and the Finns, fighting with dour determination, forced the Soviet Army to pay a heavy price for the little ground it won.

Above, Finnari soldiers in action with a trench mortar.

Photo, Wide World

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SHIP WITH THE 'NELSON TOUCH' - H.M.S. 'COSSACK' RETURNS

On the night of February 6th, 1917, in January Flotilla, H.M. Destroyer 'Cossack' half swimming while making manœuvre towards the German ship and board the captives. Above, some of the British sailors released from the 'Altmark' are seen waving from the deck of H.M.S. 'Cossack', en route arriving at Loch. The full story is told in Chapter 8.
FINNS' REPLY TO THE RED ARMY

Heavy fighting took place in the course of the Russo-Finnish war on the front north-east of Lake Ladoga, and the Finns successfully repulsed all attacks by the Russians despite the numerical superiority of the Red forces. Above, a Finnish gun crew loading their weapon during the action.

It was in this sector that the 18th Russian Division was first 'caged' and then destroyed, as related in pages 665-666.

Photo, Topical.
North-east of Lake Ladoga the Fins added striking triumphs to their long list of successes. In the Manxhein Line, the overwhelming Russian numerical superiority caused a comparatively narrow front from not completely paralysed, the less so as the defenders were greatly handicapped in material— from guns to tanks, and from flamethrowers to aeroplanes and captive balloons. On the other fronts, however, the Fins never presented the enemy with a stationary target. Their light cavalry equivalent, the ski-troops, always managed to split large Russian armies into fragments, in which the Fins accounted by using every ruse permitted by the terrain, the climate and their guerrilla cunning. They could not afford frontal attacks, since one or at the most two brigades had to handle armies composed of two or more Soviet divisions; but, nevertheless, Finnish tactics and courage managed to destroy quite a number of these without undue loss to themselves.

After the annihilation of the 18th Russian Division the commander of the Finnish troops north-east of Lake Ladoga, General Hagglund, put the matter in a nutshell: "We must work miracles and we must economize manpower." That was the prescription written by dire need and dispensed by unsupervised officers and soldiers.

In January the Russians had begun to send strong forces against the left flank of the Manxhein Line, partly from Salo, partly from Umass, out to mention the columns Caging of the 18th Division trying to approach the rendezvous at Kitele by detours via Lomami, Lomola, Suvoojärvi and Alttöjoki. Sortavaa was the objective of the enemy in this sector. In the dense forests, Finnish ski-patrols harassed the invaders, who had at first made considerable progress, but were in due course split up and "deposited" in camps, kept carefully apart and cut off from every connexion with one another as well as from their common bases. The Russian air-reconnaissance soon informed Soviet headquarters of the plight in which the advanced divisions had found themselves. Strong relief forces were dispatched. These in turn were engaged by Finnish ski-troops, isolated and attentively watched. The Fins invested the term "motti" for these segregated camps, in which very large as well as small Russian bodies entrenched themselves, fighting desperately against starvation, cold and exhaustion, worried by a bold and ceaselessly harassing enemy.

In January, 1940, the entire 18th Division was safely caged in several "motti," and the first of these was considered sufficiently mature to be taken on February 5; that meant 500 dead for the invader. Two days later a special Soviet ski-battalion was defeated, leaving 300 dead behind. At the same time the Red Army unsuccessfully attacked the islands in Lake Ladoga. Mants leaps came to be called the "Finnish Alpaca." Although attacked from all sides, over the frozen Ladoga as well as from the mainland and the neighbouring island, the garrison held out. The batteries from Mants leaps continued to command the important Salmi-Pirkaranta road, thus making it impossible for any large body of troops to retreat that way.

In various actions against Soviet motorized columns the Fins destroyed or captured in this sector over a hundred tanks and many other motor vehicles. All this time two divisions were being carefully guarded in their "motti," the 18th mainly north of Kitele and the 16th south-west of Lomami.车

WHERE FIERCE FIGHTING TOOK TOLL OF THE RED ARMIES

The map above shows the region of the bitter fighting north-east of Lake Ladoga. The Russian troops, driven from Uomas and from Salo were stopped before they reached their common objective at Kitele. The white circles indicate the points to which the Soviet forces penetrated; the black circles show where they were engaged, with heavy losses, in February, 1940.

On February 18 the 18th Division ceased to exist, a sad accomplishment to the Red Army's anniversaries falling two days later. The striking victory at Kitele was a great tonic to Helsinki, and the entire Finnish nation, had had to put up with the partial retreat on the Russians. Of this triumph a correspondent wrote:

"Finnish forces have annihilated the 18th Division, one of the five belonging to the 18th Army which tried to invade Finland from the filthy forest area north-east of Lake Ladoga. Not only the original division, but large reinforcements were cut to pieces. The number killed and made prisoners is put at 18,000. The division... was stopped about ten miles north-east of Kitele at Syyskylä, and there encircled and broken up. That week-end... the Fins had scored a staggering success, reaching the very heart of the division and destroying the..."
A special feature of this front was the dropping of arms from the air. Before the Russian attack, parachute dispensers dropped thousands of Russian soldiers, cut off from the main body, to defend themselves with hand grenades.

An interesting detail was the captured standard of the 18th Infantry Division from Jaroslav, which on one side showed the globe and on the other a map of north-western Europe. On the spot where Jaroslav is situated the hammer and sickle are embroidered on the cloth, and from there a battle was fought through the Baltic and Sweden into south Norway (see illustration, page 659).

The Finns continued mopping up the last few "mottis" and concentrated their efforts on the isolated 164th Division farther south, as well as against strong Russian forces farther east.

In the "waist-line" sector the Russians had been strengthened by some 20,000 reserves near Kuhmo. A long Soviet artillery and air bombardment was answered by a Finnish counter-attack which resulted in 3,000 Russians being killed. Almost every day Russian flyers bombed the small town of Rovaniemi, of which little remained undamaged. Among many civilian casualties were two children whose mother pressed tightly to her body to shield them. Both children were killed by bomb splinters, whilst the mother remained unhurt.

Two ski-patrols returned from long and successful raids behind the Russian lines which had taken them as far as the Murman railway and even to the White Sea. They destroyed Russian stores there and annihilated the detachments guarding the depots.

Near Kuhmo fighting scarcely ceased. There the 54th Division was bottled up. In the usual "installment" battles up to 1,500 Russians were killed. Near Salla the invaders attacked the Finnish positions at Mäkijärvi, but were repulsed; so also was a column trying to clear the way for the surrounded forces round Kuhmo by advancing southward from the Soviet frontier near Raate, where the 44th Division had met their end in January. Many parachutists dropped in the Rovaniemi tract were hunted down by Finnish patrols, partly with the help of dogs. It was found that some women were serving in the Russian ski-battalions. Their equipment was the same as that of their male comrades, and so apparently were their duties.
escaped through the woods back to Russia. The colonel commanding the brigade was killed, two of his battalion commanders died with him, and a third was taken prisoner.

The 54th Division, after four weeks' fighting, had entrenched itself over an area of fifteen miles. Late in February these troops received food and ammunition from the air. East of Suomussalmi Soviet troops attempted a breakthrough, but were stopped without any major engagement developing.

In the last days of the month the Foreign Volunteer Brigade, consisting mainly of Swedes and a few hundred Norwegians, had been moved up to the front, relieving tired Finnish troops. The volunteers repulsed a Russian attack and pursued the enemy for a mile, when they received orders to return to their original positions. The Foreign Brigade and the entire sector was under the command of the Swedish General Lindén, who had been Mannheim's right-hand man in the Finnish War of Liberation in 1918. With Lindén went many Swedish officers, among them Lt.-Col. Ehrensvärd and Lt.-Col. Dyrssen, Olympic champion in the Modern Pentathlon, 1920, and a lecturer at the Swedish Staff College. Ehrensvärd, too, had fought with the Finns in 1918.

On the so-called Petsamo front the Finns knew that the enemy had planned a major offensive. Soviet engineers had built a field railway from Linamäki: the outer port of Petsamo, to the front. They were using railway tractors and materials manufactured by a German firm. The rails, constructed for easy assembly, were laid straight on the Arctic Highway. The tractors were driven by a crude oil engine. After an intense bombardment from the air the Soviet troops attacked on January 31 and forced the defenders to leave their positions near Höyjenjärvi, but the next day the Finns counter-attacked, forcing back the Reds.

Up to the end of the month only skirmishes took place in this sector. A Finnish patrol of ten held a Russian force twenty times stronger until reinforcements came up, and most of the Reds were captured. On the 27th the long expected offensive materialized for the first time in the Arctic proper. Here Russian bombers had to face Finnish fighters, and in the numerous 'dog-fights' which developed several Soviet planes were brought down. Outnumbered, outnumbered and without hope of any reinforcements from the south, where every available man was needed on the Isthmus, the Finnish infantry had to retreat. The defenders took up new positions east of Nautsi, about ten miles south of Höyjenjärvi. The Arctic Highway almost as far as the village of Nautsi was in Russian hands. Fourteen Russian divisions were employed on the Isthmus, and seventeen on the front from Lake Ladoga to Petsamo.

At the end of the third month of warfare it was becoming evident that the gallantry and skill of the Finns would not alone be able to prevail against the overwhelming, concentrated might of a neighbour with a population fifty times that of Finland. Strategically, the Russian gains were not in themselves calamitous. Twenty-five days of continuous Red Army attacks, supported by all the resources of man-power, 'planes and mechanized equipment of a nation numbering 150,000,000, had reached the Mannheim Line to a depth of from 15 to 20 miles, and had resulted in a renewed advance from the desolate Petsamo area. But the Finnish armies were still intact. They had annihilated the Soviet 15th Division in the forest north-east of Lake Ladoga, and had trapped two further Red Army divisions at Kuhmo and Kitälä respectively. Exhaustion arising from continuous long periods without relief in the front line, from lack of heavy guns and numerical inferiority both in men and in 'planes, was beginning to make itself felt in the thinning ranks of the Finnish defenders. Foreign aircraft were arriving in increasing numbers, and foreign volunteers were coming in, though not in sufficient numbers to replace the highly trained Finnish front-line soldiers.

There were signs, too, that the exceptionally severe winter would delay the advent of a powerful natural ally—the spring thaw. But, hard-pressed though they were, there was no talk of surrender among the Finnish soldiers.

Great hopes were entertained by the Finnish High Command of official Swedish (and possibly Allied) military help in the very near future. That this expectation was also shared by the Soviet was shown by the Russian's complete disregard of casualties, in a desperate effort to pierce Finland's defences before it should be too late.
Chapter 63

EPIC RESCUE OF THE 'ALTMARK' PRISONERS IN JOESSING FJORD


For some weeks before the German battleship "Admiral Graf Spee" came to her inglorious end in December, 1939, she had been preying with success on British shipping, chiefly in the South Atlantic. As, one after another, about seven merchant vessels fell victim to her and were sunk, officers and crew were made prisoners and transferred to the parent vessel or to an auxiliary supply ship which was accompanying the "Graf Spee" and was later to become notorious in naval history as the German prison ship "Almark."

When Captain Langsdorff of the "Graf Spee" sought refuge in the neutral harbour of Montevideo, he observed the rules of international law and immediately released his prisoners, the captains, chief officers and chief engineers of the vessels which he had sunk. But in the auxiliary there were nearly 300 other British prisoners captured by the "Graf Spee," and these senior officials on their release in Montevideo immediately informed the British Consulate of this fact and furnished a complete description of the "Almark." Captain Langsdorff scuttled his ship on December 17, 1939, and it was not until the following February 15, 1940, that the British Admiralty became aware of the presence of the "Almark" in Norwegian waters.

In the intervening period she had been completely lost sight of, and all that could be surmised was that she was endeavouring to reach home.

On this evening of Thursday, February 15, the leader of a formation of three aircraft of the R.A.F., Coastal Command was warned that on the following day he would be ordered on long range patrol across the North Sea. Next morning at 6 a.m. he was given his explicit instructions to search for the "Almark," a large vessel of the tanker type, which when last seen was painted black with yellow or white upper works. A distinguishing feature, he was told, was that her large single funnel was aft.

The three aircraft set out flying through mist into a beautiful day, with gorgeous sunshine and visibility of more than forty miles. "Flying well outside territorial waters," said the patrol leader, "I examined every mile with binoculars. Then fifteen miles ahead I saw a smudge of smoke. A minute later a ship with black hull and cream upper works was steaming directly towards us. My heart sank when I recognized from her lines that she could not be our quarry. But fifteen seconds later I spotted something else, a grey ship with funnel aft. We flew up to her at 1,000 feet and inspected her through glasses at a mile range. Then we turned in on top of her for a close inspection."

The three aircraft dived, the eyes of their pilots riveted on the stern, searching for a name, and they found it there in letters about a foot high, "ALTMARK." The formation leader described how he "whooped for joy," how he caught sight of his men with thumbs up - two thumbs up, superlative signal of success - and how for a few seconds he and his companions "went wild," sweeping across the "Almark's" decks at funnel height. Only one man appeared to be on deck; there was no other sign of life, and not a shot was fired from the "Almark's" hidden guns. But the German captain knew that he was spotted and that he might soon expect unpleasant consequences.

They came rapidly enough. "Certain of his Majesty's ships," said the Admiralty communiqué, "which were conveniently disposed, were set in motion," and very shortly afterwards the "Almark" was intercepted and further identified by H.M.S. "Intrepid" (Commander R. C. Gordon). These British ships, a destroyer flotilla under the command of Captain P. L. Vian
But the first two statements were a complete falsification of the known facts. For months the British Admiralty had been aware that about 300 British sailors were imprisoned in the hold of the "Altmark." Also that she carried armament, if only of a light, defensive type.

Accordingly, Captain Vian, acting under strict Admiralty orders, entered the fjord again after dark, with full authority to disregard any provocation on the part of the Norwegians and rescue the British prisoners at all cost. From the "Cossack" he went on board the Norwegian boat "Kjell," and asked that the "Altmark" should be taken to Bergen with a joint Anglo-Norwegian guard and under a joint escort, in order that the matter should be settled according to international law. The Norwegian captain repeated his assurance that the "Altmark" had been twice searched and no British prisoners found. Captain Vian then made it clear that he was going to board the ship and invited the Norwegian officer to join him. This he at first consented to do, but later decided not to join the boarding party and went back to his ship.

The German commander, realizing the turn events were taking, made an attempt to damage the British destroyer. His ship, revealed by the "Cossack's" searchlight, was at the time at the end of the fjord, but, by working his engines and ignoring an order to stop, he managed to break free from the ice-pack and tried to ram the "Cossack" while the latter was coming alongside. His attempt was a failure, and only resulted in his ship going aground by the stern.

The "Cossack," by a most dexterous piece of handling, was grappled to the "Altmark," and then followed a fight more reminiscent of the tales of old naval writers than of those of modern

of H.M.S. "Cossack," did not immediately molest her, but later explicit orders were given by the Admiralty that neutral waters should be entered, the "Altmark" searched and any British prisoners rescued.

During the afternoon the German ship was seen to take refuge in the Joessing fjord, a small inlet which has a dead end and an entrance not more than 200 yards wide. Into this refuge the "Altmark" was being escorted by two Norwegian gunboats. Captain Vian then followed in the "Cossack" and received from the Norwegian commander assurances that the "Altmark" was unarmed, that she had been searched at Bergen the day before, that nothing was known of any British prisoners on board, and that she had received permission to use Norwegian territorial waters. On this the British destroyer withdrew.
"COSSACK" AND HER COMMANDER

The photograph above shows H.M.S. "Cossack" (far side), the destroyer which rescued the British seamen from the German ship "Altmark," at speed during patrol duty with a sister ship. On the right is Captain R. L. Yian, R.N., commanding the "Cossack," who received the D.S.O. for his determination and courage in this action.

_D.G._

Photo, Central Press: Topcoat

sea warfare. Lieut.-Cmdr. Turner, in charge of a boarding party of two officers and thirty men, took a flying leap on to the "Altmark's" deck, hauled up a petty officer behind him, and made the two ships fast; the boarders followed. The leader made his way to the bridge; the German captain was thrust away from the engine-room telegraph, at which he was still giving orders in an attempt to drive the British destroyer on to the rocks. A gunner was in charge of the after-party rounding up the crew when a shot from the darkness severely wounded him. No shooting by the British took place until after this shot fired by a German.

Then the search began for the British prisoners. They were found in their hundreds, battened down, locked in shell rooms, store rooms and even in an empty oil tank. The story goes that as the hatches were opened the prisoners heard a British challenge: "Any Englishmen there?" There was a great cry of "Yes" from the darkness, and then they heard the victorious shouting: "Well, the Navy's here! Come up out of it!"

The Navy was there to some purpose. The captain, officers and crew of the "Altmark" were placed under guard, but some of the German guard put on board the "Graf Spee" escaped over the stern and made their way across the ice to an eminence near the shore, from which they started to fire with rifles. The British returned the fire, hitting one or two of them, and a German fell or jumped overboard and was rescued by two British officers who plunged into the icy sea. This man, however, died on the voyage home and was buried at sea wrapped in a Nazi flag which had been taken from the "Altmark" by a prisoner.

As for the 292 British prisoners, they "came up, out of it," as Naval Eye Witness said, "like men in a dream. And then they saw the familiar British uniforms and faces, grinning at them under shrapnel helmets, and they knew it was over. They mustered on the forecastle under their officers, cheering wildly."

Members of the boarding party as well as the liberated prisoners had stirring stories to tell of the thrilling half-hour during which the encounter lasted. One of the crew of the "Cossack" thus described the actual boarding: "As we neared her great bulk the "Altmark" suddenly lunged astern at us. Our skipper swung the ship sideways, and the great tanker scraped the full length of the "Cossack." There was about one foot in difference between our forecastle head and the "Altmark" s quarter-deck, but the distance was about eight feet.

"Our searchlights were trained on her. With a tremendous spring, well over six feet in length, the officer in charge of the boarding party, Jimmy the

DECORATED FOR DARING

Lieut.-Commander B. T. Turner, who was in command of the party which first boarded the "Altmark." His "daring, leadership and address in command" earned him the D.S.O.

_Photograph, H.P.U._
THE FIRST ENTRY INTO JOESSING FJORD

After being spotted by British planes and intercepted by H.M.S. "Intrepid," the "Altmark" sought safety in the shelter of Joessing Fjord. Instructed by the Admiralty, a British destroyer force then entered neutral waters to search the German vessel. The photographs in this page show: top, the Norwegian gunboats which remained passive during the incident; centre, a British destroyer alongside the "Altmark" in the fjord; bottom, the "Altmark" photographed from a British destroyer. After dark the "Cossack" re-entered the fjord and rescued the British prisoners on the German ship, as related in this chapter.

Photos: Central Press
One (First Lieutenant), leaped aboard the "Altmark." Others followed. I jumped, but missed, and was lucky to be able to scramble back on the "Cossack" without being ground to paste."

Describing the fight which followed in the ghastly glare of the searchlight, this sailor said that a German officer on the poop of the "Altmark" fired his revolver on the handful of boarders, who then opened fire, fixed bayonets and charged. Some Germans raised their arms in surrender and were pushed on to the forecastle. Then an officer shouted, "Cease fire!" and the ship was in the hands of the British.

As the miles died down the prisoners were gaining the decks, and laughed and chattered as they were hustled down a gangway into the "Cossack." Their emotions can well be imagined. Many of them had been aboard the "Altmark" since the early days of October, and for months had had no sight of land. Even when their rescuers had scrambled aboard and shooting was taking place, some of them thought that it was only the ship breaking ice.

From a spy hole which they had succeeded in disguising from the Germans they had been able to judge something of the ship's movements, and they knew that they had reached the Norwegian coast. They knew also of the presence of the Norwegian gunboats off Bergen which made such a perfunctory examination of the "Altmark." They tried to attract the attention of their crews by shouting, screaming—"Get out!"—and the ship was in the hands of the British.

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All these liberated men bore witness to the hardships of their captivity. In crowded quarters below decks they had lived for months on starvation rations of a diet mainly of black bread and thin soup. Their living conditions were disgusting insalubrious. They were allowed on deck only for very short
periods, and the slightest insubordination was punished by the removal of this privilege for days on end.

Some recounted instances of kindness on the part of members of the German crew, but these were always heavily punished by the officers if they were discovered. The doctor particularly seems to have been a humane officer of the best type, and his popularity with the prisoners was well known to the captain. It was a characteristic German punishment that the doctor's daily round should be cancelled, as was done after the riot outside Bergen.

One of the prisoners, Mr. C.W. Taylor, third engineer of the "Taunus," who was in the "Graf Spee" and "Altmark," drew a vivid picture of the German commander, Captain Dau. He described how, after a few days on the battleship, they were taken aboard the "Altmark" and paraded on the deck with armed guards around them and men on the bridge. "There stood Captain Dau," said Mr. Taylor, "the typical Nazi. He looked just like the pictures of old Admiral Spee." He addressed them, and among other things said:

"You men do not seem to realize that Germany is at war with England. This is a war made by England because she wants to keep the Germans as slaves. England made this war. She still will win. I will have no columns as yet. So you will be kept prisoners. When we have columns we will not set you free. I am prepared to use force, but do not make it necessary for me to do this."

Others described how Captain Dau varied in his moods, sometimes smiling on them and sometimes going off into a towering rage, shouting abuse, telling them of the brutalities of the British internment camps and the sufferings of the Germans in Silesia. Captain Dau was an old Reserve officer, who had the reputation of having run the British blockade three times in the Great War. He may have been a nasty bit of work, said one of his prisoners, but he was a damned good navigator. He had indeed achieved a fine feat in bringing his hulked ship safely from the South Atlantic to the Norwegian coast. That he would have got her home had it not for the intervention of the "Cossack" at this last stage there can be no doubt.

In the darkness of that February night, her task accomplished and the rescued men happily aboard, the gallant destroyer steamed through the outlet of the freezing fjord, unpursued and unmolested by the Norwegian gunboats. This in itself was a fine piece of naviga-

**Notice for prisoners.**

On account of to-day's behaviour of the prisoners they will get bread and water only to-morrow instead of the regular meals.

Further I have given order that neither the prisoners-officer nor the crew will take their regular rounds after this. Any severe case of sickness can be reported on occasion of handing down the food.

At sea, February 15th, 1940.

[Signature] Commander.

WHERE BRITONS LIVED IN THE PRISON SHIP

In their crowded quarters below decks the British prisoners aboard the "Altmark" lived for months in starvation rations. The notice at the top of this page, signed by the German commander, Captain Dau, is an indication of the severity with which they were treated. Above are the prisoners' quarters in the German prison ship. Carpets were hung up to separate living from sleeping quarters.

*Photos, Associated Press / Keystone*

Prof. Koltz, and the President of the Storting, Dr. Hambro, protested most violently against what they termed the grossest violation of their neutrality. Germany, as was to be expected, having been cheated of her last hope of redeeming the failure of the "Graf Spee" by exhibiting her prisoners, screamed with indignation at this unheard-of violation of international law, this illegal attack on an unarmed German merchantman sheltering in neutral waters.

It was a revelation of Nazi mentality that a nation which, since the outbreak of war, had broken in the most brutal manner almost every principle of international law, should suddenly rage against an alleged breach of that code.

But this dash into neutral waters to rescue 299 British prisoners did, for a time, seem as if it was to provide cause for grave argument between Great Britain and Norway, with less interested
countries taking sides. Though the matter soon quietened down, there can be no doubt that the case of the "Altmark" and the "Cossack" will be one long argued by international jurists.

In the face of Norway's protest that her waters had been flagrantly violated, Mr. Chamberlain took the following stand. It was clearly proved, he said, that the Norwegian authorities had made no proper examination of the "Altmark" at all, and he expressed surprise that they had no suspicion of there being British prisoners aboard, as the fact had been widely reported in the world press weeks before. He could not resist the conclusion that the Norwegian authorities had shown complete indifference as to the use which might be made of their territorial waters by the German fleet. He added more strongly:

According to the views expressed by Professor Koyl, the Norwegian Government sees no objection to the use of Norwegian territorial waters, for hundreds of miles by a German warship for the purpose of escaping capture on the high seas and of conveying British prisoners to a German prison camp.

Such a doctrine is at variance with international law as His Majesty's Government understands it. It would in their view legalize the abuse by German warships of neutral waters and create a position which His Majesty's Government could in no circumstances accept.

Much of the argument turned on the status of the "Altmark." Was she an armed merchant ship as the Germans claimed? Clearly not, as she appeared in German official lists as an auxiliary vessel. She was armed and she carried an armed German guard. As a vessel of war she had the right to pass through territorial waters and to refuse examination. Did she or did she not touch at the port of Bergen? At first it was said definitely that she did, in which case the Norwegians should have removed the prisoners (of whom they must have been aware), for entry into a port is tantamount to bringing prisoners to land, in which case they would naturally have been interned by a neutral power.

But supposing that there was no call at Bergen—and it appears that in the literal sense of the word there was not—was Germany to be entitled to claim the shelter of an exceptional coast line, many miles of deep water in neutral seas, to transport prisoners whom she would never have been allowed to bring over land?

Whatever the rights of the case in the strictly juridical sense, it was notable that, after the first outburst of Norwegian indignation, world opinion (with the exception of Germany and Russia) gradually found complete justification in Great Britain's action. The reasoned judgment of responsible statesmen in the United States deemed it to be completely vindicated. In the other Scandinavian countries, at first inclined to echo the Norwegian protest, opinion quickly veered to the British point of view. Within a week bitterness in Norway itself became softened, and though the offer to submit the matter to arbitration remained open, it was generally held that the matter could be settled by an exchange of Notes between the two countries.

**'ALTMARK' PRISONERS COME HOME**

H.M. destroyer "Cossack" docking at Larch as she arrived home on February 17, 1940, with the 999 British seamen taken from merchant ships sunk by the "Graf Spee," who had been captured for months on the German ship "Altmark." Another photograph is seen in pp. 662-663.

*Photo, O.P.V.*

**BURIAL OF 'ALTMARK' SAILORS**

The photograph above shows the funeral of the German sailors killed during the fight which occurred when the "Cossack"'s boarding party came to grips with the Nazi on the prison ship "Altmark." Captain Dau, commander of the "Altmark," is seen at the graveside.

*Photo, L.N.A.*
Chapter 64

AMERICA'S PRECARIOUS NEUTRALITY:
POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC CROSS-CURRENTS

Allied Purchasing Commission in the U.S.A.—Anti-war Feeling in the Middle West—The Safety Zone Around the Americas—Whitling Down the Finnish Loan—Shadow of the Coming Presidential Elections—Roosevelt Attacks the Philosophy of Force—Summer Welles' European Visit

The new Neutrality Act, signed by the President on November 4, 1939, which repealed the American arms embargo, left the Allied prospects of victory immensely more favourable (as described in Chapter 29), but only in a long view of the war. It became increasingly probable that long-range policy would count for more than immediate results, not merely because the war seemed to have settled into a temporary stalemate on the approach of winter, but also because of complications involved in using America's arsenal to the full. Indeed, the next few months after the repeal of the embargo showed that it was possible to over-estimate the efficiency of America's "hustle" and the capacity of existing American armament factories.

The American legal ban on credits had little to do with any delay in deliveries, as both British and French currency resources appeared for the time being more than sufficient to cope with any orders likely to be carried out. To take the case of aeroplanes, it became evident by the end of 1939 that American deliveries were behind schedule, and that orders given by France and Britain long before the war started were still in course of execution. Nevertheless, both the Allies (but especially France) had received useful reinforcements in the form of American aircraft by January, 1940, even though these machines amounted to but a small fraction of the total provided for by the new contracts made in the autumn.

The Allied Purchasing Commission had been under pressure upon the United States industrial resources was the policy urged upon the Allied Purchasing Commission in January, 1940. The Allies' American production of engines for aeroplanes on order was beginning to lag so far behind that the Commission was advised to spend about $10,000,000 on extra plant for the manufacture of engines and spare parts. Unofficial revelations made in the "Wall Street Journal" in January suggested that the Commission was preparing a huge programme of aircraft purchases, including between 6,000 and 8,000 bombers (such as the twin-engined Douglas, Lockheed, and Martin fast bombers), at a cost of anything from £20,000,000 to £325,000,000. But there was little prospect of the U.S. aircraft industry approaching its maximum expansion for another year, despite "expert" American estimates of plane deliveries amounting to over 5,000 by the end of 1940. It was announced, however, at the end of January, 1940, that British vessels of a tonnage of 45,000 had crossed the Atlantic safely under escort with cargoes of American aircraft.

While American industries that could devote themselves to war work were getting gradually busier during the autumn and winter, other business interests in the States were soon uttering cries of dismay; all those anti-war and anti-Ally elements in the States which had fought tooth and nail against the repeal of the arms embargo swelled the chorus of surprised indignation. They apparently had only just realized that if the Allies were going to place huge armament orders without credit, much of the cash required to pay for them "on the nail" would be found by restricting unessential purchases. A good example of this policy was the British Government's restriction on the purchase of Virginia tobacco. Huge sums could be saved during the war-releasing currency for other purchases in America—by drawing on the vast stocks of Virginia tobacco in bond in England, and also by increasing Britain's purchases of Empire and Turkish tobacco—a form of economic strategy which Britain had always been slow to exploit in peacetime.

But there was practically no hostility to Britain in the Southern States, where feeling in favour of intervention on the side of the Allies was strongest, although these States were the real sufferers from the falling off in tobacco exports. The bitterest feeling was voiced in the Middle West, where industrial and political interests were more strongly opposed to the Roosevelt Administration. This was one of the indications that much of the dismay and anger over American trade losses had irrelevant political sources. Of the display of irritation with the Allies (especially with Britain) there could be no doubt, for it steadily increased, apparently gaining motive power from a renewal of the national conflict between sentiment and policy. Britain was merely a scapegoat. The irritation found other pretexts in the Allied Contraband Control, and even in the British conduct of the naval war.

The illogical muddle of American reactions at the end of 1939 is well illustrated by the consequences in America of the defeat by British cruisers of the German battleship "Graf Spee" off the River Plate in December. This was still being hailed with delight by most sections of the American public when the Administration, together with the Governments of the other American Republics, on December 23 sent a formal complaint to the Governments of Britain, France and Germany that the naval action had contravened the Pan-American principle of the 300-mile
CONTRABAND CONTROL IN MID-OCEAN

In certain quarters in America, indignation was expressed at the examination of U.S. vessels by the Allied Contraband Control, with the object of intercepting goods destined for Germany. Above, the U.S. freighter "West Point," stopped for examination by a British destroyer. The formalities were, however, carried out expeditiously and the whole procedure of examination was executed in such a manner as to cause as little delay as possible.

Photo, Kingfisher

safety zone. This principle had been asserted in October by the American Republics (led by the United States) at the Panama Congress. The 21 Republics declared that they claimed the "imperious right" to insist on no belligerent action occurring inside a belt 300 miles wide around American coasts. At the time of the "Great Spill" action the British Government was preparing a reply to the Panama Congress claim. When, on December 23, the Pan-American complaint about the River Plate battle was made, His Majesty's Government considered this and replied to the particular as well as the general argument.

The British reply, presented on January 15, 1940, by the Minister in Panama to the Panama Government, was friendly in tone but very firm in its rejection of the "safety zone" principle on any basis of international law. The British Government's case was unanswerable. It declared that it could not forgo belligerent rights within the so-called "safety belt" without being satisfied that German warships and supply vessels could not use the zone, which would otherwise become a vast sanctuary for them. If the Allies were asked not to capture German ships in this area, then such ships should be interned throughout the war under Pan-American control, and anyhow, said the reply, "the legitimate activities of His Majesty's ships can in no way impede, but must rather contribute to, the security of the American continent." But the American Administration, through Mr. Cordell Hull, had another protest to make in January. This was against interference with United States mails, and, further, against forcing American ships into British control ports, in which case the United States Government would hold Great Britain responsible for "losses and injuries." The searching of mails to Germany suspected of containing currency or goods had been proved necessary as part of the British Contraband Control, and the abuse of the air mail from the U.S.A. in the same way resulted in similar protests when the British authorities at Bermuda examined the mails of an American air liner.

While these superficially dangerous developments in Anglo-American relations were occurring, the United States was being aroused to indignation in quite a different direction by the Russian attack upon Finland. The general attitude to Soviet Russia, even after the Russo-German partition of Poland, had been fairly dispassionate. The view that Stalin's Government was bent upon a defensive policy aimed ultimately against Germany was widely held, but when in November the independence and the very existence of Finland were seen to be menaced by Russia, there was renewed anxiety among the American public at the apparent falsity of their country's foreign policy. Finland, alone of the European countries, had paid its last war debt installments punctually and—still more to the point—the American capital had largely built up Finnish industries. And the fact that the American Government could or dared do, apparently, was to promise a loan.
WE COULD NOT AFFORD TO TAKE CHANCES

Many protests were made in the American Congress at the
searching of U.S. mails by British censors, but this had to be
done to avoid the possibility of vital information leaking through
to Germany by this route. Left, an air-mail letter censored at
Bermuda; right, American mail for Germany shortly before being
transferred to a trawler and taken to Gibraltar for examination.

Below, a packet of photographs opened by the censor at Gibraltar.


the amount of which was left vaguely
unsettled, while giving Finland a
moratorium. The moratorium was an
empty gesture, since Finland obviously
could not buy the war materials she
needed to save herself from extinction,
et alone pay further instalments of
her old debt, which anyhow amounted
to only £60,000 a year.

Moreover, America's neutrality regu-
lations began to seem absurd, since the
Administration now had to refuse to
send any war materials to Finland.

Financial Aid for

Finland

January 4 that an
official assurance was made (by
Senator Pittman, Chairman of the
American Senate Foreign Relations
Committee) that financial aid for
Finland would be authorized. It was
still expected that loans totalling about
£25,000,000 would be provided for in the
bills to be introduced at the new Session
of Congress. Meanwhile, Sweden was
officially refusing intervention, though
sending volunteers to Finland, and Great
Britain was supplying Sweden with arms and
munitions which officially were only
to her own use.

America's political fatality in the face
of this new situation was underlined
when the expected £25,000,000 loan was
whittled down to £5,000,000, and made

on condition

that no war
materials were
bought with it.
The ruthless
bombing of Fin-
nish towns by
the Soviet air
force was
brought home to
the ordinary
American citizen by gruesome news-films
and by such incidents as the bombing of the
U.S. Minister's house just outside
Helsinki, a few days after he had moved
to another place. In fact, there was
deserved indignation and a sense that the
purpose of the States at this time that
might be compared with the feelings of
the British public at the time of the
Munich conference in September, 1938.

This picture of the United States
would be incomplete without noting the
relations between it and Soviet
Russia, after the latter's sudden
invasion of Finland. A big part—indeed
the chief part—of the isolationists
strain of Americanism is opposed to the
Roosevelt Administration was in the Republican
Party, and the Republicans by the
beginning of December, 1939, were
clamouring for a rupture of diplomatic
relations with Soviet Russia. The
Roosevelt Administration, which had
hitherto been blamed by isolationists
for any action it took in Europe that
seemed like "taking sides," was now
blamed by many of the same opponents
for refraining from action. The Repub-
licans involved in this argument were those of the old Harding-
Coolidge-Hoover school who, had de-
clined to recognize the Soviet Govern-
ment. Being unable to make any
other useful gesture, ex-President Hoover
became chairman of a committee for
relief for Finland, and this committee
during the next few months became the
channel for a considerable amount of
American conscience-money and for
services to a little country, virtually
betrayed in deference to larger interests
and to considerations of world politics.

In spite of all these cross-currents
of feeling and opinion in America, it
would have been a big error to assume
that the United States was less pro-All
ally than it had been in September and
October, 1939. What had hardened
Behind the fear of being involved in the war was a deepening anxiety about internal perils. The comments of politicians on foreign affairs were made always with one eye upon the electorate, for more and more the distracted attention of the public was being drawn to the Presidential elections that were to take place in the autumn of 1940. Normally this event would have had the States in a political turmoil over purely Party issues for at least a year beforehand. Excitement over the election campaigns was to some extent delayed by Roosevelt’s refusal to answer the question whether he would stand for a third term. Broadcasting through the B.B.C. from America on December 9, Raymond Gram Swing stated that this question was becoming constantly more acute for the Democratic Party with the approach of the nominating convention.

If he (the President) should decline now to accept a third term, he loses at once a substantial power in his party leadership; if he doesn’t decline soon he makes every Democrat who goes out to win a national following look like an opportunist. The President stands just now at about the peak of his popularity. Some of the opposition to his third term has begun to melt away, according to the polls of public opinion.

Nevertheless, the President remained discreetly silent on this question when he made his otherwise significant speech in addressing the third session of the seventy-sixth Congress, on January 3, 1940. His speech was a diplomatic attack upon Isolationists, whom he described as wishful thinkers, for insisting that the United States could prosper in security as a self-contained unit while outside it the rest of the civilization and the commerce and culture of mankind were shattered. Guarding against the charge of neglecting domestic politics because he stressed the importance of foreign affairs, he said:

“... The social and economic forces which have been mismanaged abroad until they have resulted in revolution, dictatorship and war, are the same as those which we here are struggling to adjust peacefully at home. You are now aware that dictatorships and the philosophy of force which justifies dictatorships originated, in almost every case, in the necessity of drastic action to improve internal conditions, where ‘democratic’ action, for one reason or another, had failed to respond to modern needs and modern demands.”

Several passages of the speech were calculated to take the wind out of the sails of certain unscrupulous “pressure groups” indulging in fantastic peace propaganda as a means of whipping up opposition to the New Deal Administration.

“I can understand,” said the President, “the feelings of those who warn the nation that they will never again consent to the...
ending of American youth on the soil of Europe. But, as I remember, nobody has asked them to consent, for nobody expects such an undertaking. The overwhelming majority of my fellow citizens do not abandon their hope and expectation that the United States will not become involved in military participation in the war. I can also understand the wishfulness of those who oversimplify the situation by repeating that all we have to do is to mind our own business and keep the nation from war. But there is a vast difference between keeping from war and pretending that war is none of our business. We have not to go to war with other nations, but at least we can strive with other nations to encourage the kind of peace that will lighten the troubles of the world, and by so doing help our own nation as well.

Declaring that "it becomes clearer and clearer that the future world will be a shabby and dangerous place to live in—yes, even for Americans to live in—if it is ruled by force in the hands of a few," the President came to the most significant part of an important speech when he added that the world had come to the point of choosing whether United States to continue to be "a potent and active factor in seeking the re-establishment of world peace"; and the general lines of American policy were clearly indicated by succeeding passages, such as the following:

"We must look ahead and see the effect on our own future if all the small nations of the world have their independence snatched from them or become mere appendages to relatively vast and powerful military systems. We must look ahead and see the kind of lives our children would have to lead if a large part of the rest of the world were forbidden to read and hear the facts but only raise for their own and all nations; and if they were deprived of the truth that makes men free. We must look ahead and see the effect on our future generations if world trade is controlled by any nation or group of nations which sets up that control through military force."

"Of course, the peoples of other nations have the right to choose their own forms of government, but we of this nation still believe that such choice should be predicated on certain freedoms—freedoms which we think are essential everywhere. We know that we ourselves will never be very safe at home unless other Governments recognize such freedoms. Twenty-one American Republics, expressing the will of 250,000,000 people to preserve peace and freedom in this hemisphere, are displaying unanimity of ideas and practical relationship which gives hope that what is being done here can be done on other continents. We and all the Americas are coming to the realization that: we can retain our respective nationalities without at the same time threatening the national existence of our neighbors."

"For many years after the World War, as we know today, blind economic selfishness in most countries, including our own, resulted in a destructive mindless of trade restrictions which blocked the channels of commerce among nations. Indeed this policy was one of the contributing causes of the existing war."

The President said that their present trade-agreements method provided a temporary flexibility for mutually profitable trade with other countries, and should be extended as part of the foundations of any stable and enduring peace. He then stressed the main point he had been leading up to, the international responsibility of the U.S.A.

**AMERICAN BOMBER FOR BRITAIN**

The Allies placed large orders for aircraft with the U.S.A., and, below, a bombing plane is seen being hauled by hand across the American border into Canada for eventual delivery to Great Britain. Because of the provisions of the American neutrality laws, aircraft could not be flown into a belligerent country, and so this method of delivery was employed.

*Photo, Associated Press*
Hull, the Secretary of State, stated that Mr. Welles would travel in the Italian liner "Rex," accompanied by Mr. Myron Taylor, the President's Special Ambassador to the Vatican. The latter's visit was anticipated in the President's remarkable letter to Pope Pius XII, on December 23, 1939, which contained the following passage:

"In those present moments no spiritual leader, no civil leader, can move forward on a specific plan to terminate destruction and build anew. Yet the time for that will surely come. It is, therefore, my thought that, though no given action or given time may now be prophesied, it is well that we encourage a closer association between those in every part of the world—those in religion and those in government—who have a common purpose. I am, therefore, suggesting to your Holiness that it would give me great satisfaction to send to your personal representative in order that our parallel endeavours for peace and the alleviation of suffering may be assisted."

As for the purpose and attitude of the American Under-Secretary's tour, no official information was forthcoming, but on the day following the announcement the President addressed the American Youth Congress, which had adopted a resolution that described the Finnish issue as having no moral factor and as being merely an excuse to break down American neutrality. The President referred to this as "smalllerated twaddle," and attacked the Soviet dictatorship openly and the Nazi dictatorship by clear inference as enemies of democratic freedom.

But he said nothing to suggest that the Administration wished to make, or become the medium for, any peace proposals in Europe, and on the previous day Mr. Cordell Hull had emphasized that the conversations of the American envoys in Europe were to be preliminary inquiries about international economic questions and the possibilities of a world-wide reduction of armaments.

Non-committal as was every official American version of Mr. Sumner Welles' visit to Europe, it soon assumed an air of purpose, and even of haste. Travelling straight to Rome after disembarking at Naples, Mr. Welles at once received Count Ciano in his hotel (on February 25). The conversation caused a change of plan, for Mr. Welles had a briefer talk next day with the Duce, giving him a message from President Roosevelt, and left for Berlin on the 27th. He had intended to stay a few days in Rome. While on his way to Berlin via Switzerland, Mr. Welles could ponder the latest frantic speech (on February 24) by Hitler, who was putting out propaganda before receiving the American emissary. The speech concentrated on the claim of moderation, Germany demanding only control over central Europe and the return of former colonies. This evidently was to forestall the British case. But Mr. Chamberlain on the same day made the fullest statement up to date of the British Government's war aims, which he said included the independence of Czechs and Poles. In this unsympathetic atmosphere Mr. Welles talked with Ribbentrop on March 1, and the next day, patiently listened to Hitler, who was said to have delivered his usual harangue to the visitor. On March 3, losing no time in Germany, Mr. Welles departed for Paris, after meeting Goering, Hess and other Nazi leaders. He made no comment upon his visit to Germany.

In Paris Mr. Welles talked with the Polish Government leaders (March 9). Reaching London next day, he was received by the King on the 11th, and had interviews with Mr. Chamberlain and the Foreign Secretary. He returned to Paris on the 14th, for a talk with M. Daladier, and left for Rome the same day. In Rome Mr. Welles had conversations with the King, with Mussolini, and with Count Ciano. (Next day the Duce left for his meeting with Hitler at the Brenner Pass.) There followed further talks with Count Ciano, and on March 29 Mr. Sumner Welles sailed for New York.

**U.S. LORRIES BOUGHT BY THE ALLIES**

Enormous consignments of motor lorries were ordered by the Allies from the United States, and this photograph shows part of an order for 6,000 trucks lined up at the port of Stapleton, Staten Island, awaiting shipment to Europe.

*Photo: Watts (Farleft)*

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MR. WELLES INVESTIGATES

The visit of Mr. Sumner Welles, U.S. Under-Secretary of State, to Europe at the beginning of 1949 gave rise to considerable world comment. He was, however, at great pains to emphasize that his journey was to be regarded as "a fact-finding tour" only and had no political significance whatsoever. Mr. Sumner Welles visited Italy, Germany, France, and Great Britain, and is seen here with Count Ciano (top left); with von Ribbentrop (top right); talking to President Lehmann (above); at an interview with General Sikorski (above right), and (right) shaking hands with Lord Halifax.

Photographs, by courtesy of French Embassy
Associated Press; Keystone
KEEN-EYED AND SWIFT-WINGED KNIGHTS OF THE AIR

On January 9, 1940, a Royal Air Force Command came into being to include all units of the R.A.F. in France. Five days later, when Air Marshal A. S. Barratt, Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, British Air Forces, issued the Special Order of the Day reproduced below, he paid a further report by the Air Minister on the work of the R.A.F.

AIR MARSHAL A. S. BARRATT, AIR OFFICER COMMANDING-IN-CHIEF, BRITISH AIR FORCES, IN A SPECIAL ORDER OF THE DAY, JANUARY 9, 1940:

Today the British Air Forces in France are united under one command. The one ideal that inspires us, one and all, is to do our utmost in helping to win this war. This ideal, resolutely and unmissed maintained, will overcome all difficulties, great or small, of whatever nature, wherever they arise.

In the months to come let us keep this ideal before us and, with our friends and allies of the French Air Force who have done so much for us since we have been out here, we will "wing-tip to wing-tip," doing our share with the Allied Armies in the field to bring this war to a speedy and decisive conclusion.

SIR KINGSLEY WOOD, AIR MINISTER: IN A SPEECH AT BRISTOL, FEBRUARY 10, 1940:

What of the Royal Air Force? At the supreme hour of victory is the last great war. King George V sent an inspiring message to the men of the Royal Air Force. He recalled how our aircraft had been in the forefront of the battle, and referred to their pilots as the keen-eyed and swift-winged knights of the air who had given the world a new type of daring and resourceful heroism.

The men of the Royal Air Force today are the worthy successors of those men. Now, as then, amongst their ranks are the finest airmen in the world. Many of the Royal Air Force have already given a great and gallant account of themselves in combat with the Germans.

Those who have not yet engaged in battle exist in what can only be described as a state of "exaggerated anticipation"—always on their toes and desperately keen to take their full part for liberty and freedom.

As regards results in actual combat, it is not surprising—in any case, to us—that that part of our Air Force which has been engaged in pitched battles with the enemy has shot down many more enemy aircraft than we have lost.

Between the Thames and south-west Scotland our merchant ships in large numbers move up and down on peaceful business each day. The German airmen emulate his naval confederate in ruthless and murderous attack on them. He does not discriminate between British or neutral shipping. He obviously prefers those vessels which cannot defend themselves.

We can mark the depths of insanity to which the German Air Force has fallen when its airmen are employed to machine-gun and bomb helpless fishermen, and to continue to attack the men struggling for their lives in the icy sea.

Nazi "Tip and Run" Tactics

It is astonishing that the German High Command seek to condemn Britain's sea-power, and to employ against it lightships and the killing of the men who man them, and whose sole purpose and lives are dedicated to the greater safety of all those who sail the seas.

Our greatest admiration is for our brave and courageous merchantmen and the men who man the lightships. They may be assured that the Royal Navy and the Royal Air Force will not rest until these evil things cease to be and these men are wholly defeated.

The toll our airmen take is often much heavier than official reports can of necessity reveal. Many of the enemy machines our airmen have damaged, we find later, never reach Germany.

The ruthless tactics employed against the German aircraft, which reach our shores, and the bodies of German airmen washed up on the coast, bear their own witness to this. In the German "tip and run" tactics, however, casualties are inflicted that are generally appreciated.

The work of the Coastal Command, in its daily sweeps to the furthest limits of the North Sea, and its close and co-operation with the Royal Navy, in the work of convoy escort and anti-submarine patrol, deserves all praise.

During the Arctic weather of January aircraft of the Coastal Command flew off on a million miles.

It is unfair to say that the recent great successes have shown that our air preponderance is practically weather-proof. The first half of January provided the most severe flying weather ever known. Yet throughout the bitter spell, on a single day's halt was called in the vital work of the Coastal Command.

The ceaseless hunt for U-boats and for mines went on.

Our records show that during all the trying period submarines were sighted and bombed, enemy aircraft were shot down or driven off, mines were sunk, convoy escorted and "leave ships" accompanied safely to port.

The Empire in this war, as in the past, has sent as some of the finest airmen in the world. In recent exploits of gallantry and skill the pilots and airmen from our Dominions and Colonies have made a mark that can never be effaced.

I often think that the great Empire air-training scheme which is now under way is an outstanding feature of the war. It is one of the greatest efforts and one of the biggest demonstrations ever made of Empire power and unity.

It will provide the Air Forces of the Empire with tens of thousands of keen and fine young men as pilots and crews, flying proof of their devotion and loyalty to the cause of liberty and freedom.

Canada's Vast Production of Aircraft

Canada will also enable us to use for training purposes large areas entirely free from the restrictions imposed in this country by operational requirements, and in a climate which will enable for more hours of flying training to be put in than is possible here.

I am also glad to be able to say that not only are we employing on a considerable scale Canadian aircraft firms in the production of different types of aircraft for the Royal Air Force, but the organization which we established as a result of the mission to Canada in 1938 has now been suitably extended and entrusted with further orders to the value of roughly £6,000,000 for covering the production of aircraft of the latest type.

Our night-fighters have equipped themselves magnificently, and we believe them to be the best machines of their kind in the world. We cannot and must not rest on what has been achieved. We must go on every day as we are doing—perfecting present types and introducing others with even higher speed, longer range and better armament.

I would like to thank that great army who are so strenuously engaged in aircraft production. They have worked hard and successfully. In the year they have doubled the numerical output of aircraft.

This doubling, I may say, meant not a twofold but a threefold or fourfold increase. It is now 93 types in production a year ago.

The field of our aircraft production the numbers already employed today are higher than in the peak of production in the last war. But we shall need great numbers during the next twelve months. Our aircraft production is planned on a vastly increased scale.

We are a nation slow at first, patient, we move. But throughout our history our resolution and determination have been not discerned but strengthened by the difficulties and dangers which we have had to encounter in the same in this great struggle. Let us therefore go forward with determination, endurance and constancy until victory is won.
THE END OF A GERMAN BOMBER

The German Heinkel 111K bomber above is one which crashed in the early part of 1940 on the North-East Coast after it had been damaged by the fire of R.A.F. fighters. Note the gunner's cockpit beneath the fuselage. Below, a member of the R.A.F. is examining the propeller with interest.

Photos: Keystone
BRITISH SHIPPING IS CONVOYED BY AIR AND WATER

One factor which made for the success of the convoy system was the excellent work done by the flying boats of the Coastal Command, R.A.F., in their task of watching over British shipping. Above, a Short-Sunderland flying boat of this Command is seen flying around a merchant vessel during a patrol.

Photo: P.R.A., taken by permission of the R.A.F.
‘HURRICANES’ ABOVE THE CLOUDS

This striking photograph of British fighter aircraft above the clouds on the Western Front gives a vivid idea of what it looks like to be attacked by British ‘Hurricanes.’ The fighters are seen pulling away after making contact. The Hawker ‘Hurricane’ proved its worth in many a combat against the Nazi ‘planes. British Official Photograph / Crown Copyright
MERCHANT SHIPping CONVOYED BY FRENCH WARSHIPS

The convoy system fully proved its worth during the Second Great War, and the amount of Allied and neutral shipping sunk when sailing in convoy was remarkably low compared with the losses of unescorted vessels. Many photographs in other pages have shown British convoys, and the striking study above gives a similar aspect of the French Navy’s work: a convoy in the Atlantic seen from the stern of an accompanying French destroyer.
THE WAR IN THE AIR: ITS DEVELOPMENT IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1940

A GRADE development of the air war occurred during January and February, 1940, but there was no general flare-up. January opened with a large number of North Sea raids by German aircraft; these all adopted the hit-and-run tactics, and a notable feature was the use made of clouds by the German aircraft crews. The raiders would appear suddenly, often from a friendly bank, deliver their attack as rapidly as possible, and again seek cover in the clouds. On January 1, enemy aircraft were reported in a joint Admiralty and Air Ministry communiqué to be over the Shetlands. They dropped two bombs, but there were no hits and no casualties. It was believed that one German aeroplane had been brought down. A more interesting action was fought between two British aircraft and two twin-engined Heinkel 111 bombers about 130 miles off the coast of Scotland. This running fight lasted for half an hour, when one of the Heinkels was sent down in flames. One of the crew leaped out with his parachute to escape the flames, but on hitting the sea he disappeared.

Another point to be noted was the continual activity in the Heligoland and Frisian Islands region. British bombing aeroplanes were frequently patrolling this region and there were large numbers of combats. The "security patrols" designed to check the activities of mine-laying seaplanes were continued on an extensive scale. The method adopted by the British crews was always the same—that of flying around near the region to be watched, and coming down and bombing any aircraft that appeared on the surface of the water. The British aircraft were not permitted by the war policy of the Allies to bomb land targets at this period. The scheme was designed to prevent flare paths being set out, and therefore to hamper the German seaplanes in their attempts to take off from the water.

On the Western Front reconnaissance flights were continued by French and British machines, and there were occasional reconnaissance flights by German machines.

Coastal Command aircraft were continuously busy in sweeping the seas, watching for enemy vessels, and guarding convoys. On many occasions they saved shipwrecked mariners by directing other ships to rafts or small boats.

Messerschmitt 110 fighters were met on many occasions by British machines, and it became clear that these new twin-engined fighters were reaching the squadrons in rapidly increasing numbers. The Messerschmitt 110 is capable of a maximum speed of about 370 miles an hour. It is heavily armed, having two cannon firing forward in the line of flight, mounted in the nose of the fuselage; two machine-guns, also firing forward, in the line of flight, probably mounted in the wings; and two machine-guns for rear defence.

In January 13 long-range reconnaissance flights were made by the Royal Air Force over Austria, Bohemia and North-west Germany. All the British machines returned safely, some of them after having been in the air for nine hours. Leaflets were dropped, and it may be mentioned here that an improvement had been made in the layout and wording of the leaflets. The earlier leaflets had been adversely criticized on account of their unabashed German and their unattractive appearance. The newer leaflets had illustrations and were written in a more lively manner.

On January 15 a Nazi aeroplane bombed and machine-gunned a trawler off the East Coast until the vessel sank and all the crew were lost. It was on this day also that reports from Amsterdam stated that documents found on a German airman who had made a forced landing in Belgium indicated that a German attack might be launched against Belgium and Holland on the following Wednesday night. This report had extensive repercussions, but no action was taken by Germany in the form suggested.

On January 25 there were reports that anti-aircraft guns had been in action in the Thames Estuary. These reports led to others which stated that German aircraft had flown over London. The Air Ministry, however, scotched all the rumours by a definite statement that there had been no action by anti-aircraft guns in the Thames Estuary. Next day there were more reports about what the German Air Force was expected to do when it came into full action against Britain. The Berlin correspondent of an American paper stated that in the summer the German people expected an unbroken series of lightning attacks by air and sea on English and Scottish ports, strategic points, and armament factories. On the day following (January 27), Lord Riverdale, head of the British Air Mission to Canada, described the Empire Air Training Scheme as the biggest
undertaking ever carried out in the
Empire. It would result, he said, in
thousands of young men pouring into
Canada for final training in the fastest
fighting machines and bombers.

On the 27th Mr. Winston
Churchill made a statement on the much
debated subject of whether we ought
to have bombed Germany instead of
dropping leaflets. He said that his
view was quite clear that our policy
in using leaflets and not bombs had
been right.

The most widespread attacks yet
attempted on British shipping in the
North Sea took place on the 29th of
the month. The attacks were dis-
tributed over a range
of 400 miles, extend-
ing from the mouth of
the Tay in the north
to Kent. They occurred between
9 o'clock in the morning and noon,
and there were air-raid warnings
sounded in North-east coastal districts.

Many steamer crews stated that they
had been attacked with bombs and
machine-gun fire. Two lightships were
attacked. The Latvian steamer "Taut-
mīra" was said in one of these reports
to have been hit by ten bombs, with
the result that seven of the crew
were killed. On January 30 an enemy
aircraft was shot down by the R.A.F.
Fighter Command off the East Coast
shortly before 1 p.m. A second enemy
aircraft, a Heinkel, escaped into the
clouds off the Scottish coast after being
intercepted by a Royal Air Force
fighter.

ROYAL AIR FORCE TO THE RESCUE

Towards the end of February, 1935, the merchantman "Sea Venture" was attacked by a German
submarine. The crew took in the boats while the U-boat continued to fire on the sinking ship,
but when a British seaplane appeared the enemy craft submerged. Below, the British "plane
is seen alongside one of the merchantman's boats. It afterwards directed a lifeboat to their rescue.

LIGHTSHIPS THAT NEED NO CREW

Due to the repeated attacks by German bombers on lightships off the East Coast, automatic
creedles, known as boats, were substituted. Such boats, seen above, have lanterns
and bell, and the light will burn for two months unattended.

Photo, Central Press

Merchant vessels and a lightship were
attacked by German aircraft, some of
the vessels being in convoy. But it is
noteworthy that when merchant vessels
in convoy were attacked, the fire from
the naval escorts usually succeeded in
driving off the enemy machines. State-
mements were obtained from the crew of the Grimsby trawler "Rigoletto," which returned to port on this day. She
had been attacked while fishing in the
North Sea by six German bombers, and during the course of the attack the skipper and mate were killed by
machine-gun fire from the enemy aircraft.

Reports came in suggesting that the
Germans had begun to use four-engined
aircraft for their campaign against
British and neutral shipping. It had
been known before that the Do 19 was available to the German Air
Force, but it had been thought that this
machine was not in production and that
it was unlikely to be put into production.

The German war against shipping
was not entirely a matter of aircraft,
but submarines also were employed.
Again the defence responsibility rested
partly on the Royal Air Force, and a
great many attacks were made by
British aircraft upon German sub-
marines. Thus on the last day of
January a U-boat sank a British ship
which was in convoy. The crew of the
merchantman were rescued by an
Italian vessel, and immediately after-
wards a hunt for the U-boat was begun,
with the usual dropping of
depth charges. Later in the day a
flying boat of the Coastal Command
found a submarine on the surface, and
it appeared that the depth charges had
damaged the U-boat so that it was
unable to submerge. At any rate, the
flying boat approached it and bombed
it. One heavy bomb fell on the star-
board side. Men were seen on the
deck of the submarine, which opened fire with its anti-aircraft guns, the British aeroplane retaliating with its machine-guns. Low cloud and mist now obscured the U-boat, and the British aircraft returned to its base, informing the wardens of the position where its attack had taken place. When they arrived on the scene these wardens found some survivors from the submarine in a rubber dinghy and rescued them. Other survivors were picked up later by naval vessels.

While, on the one hand, British aircraft were attacking submarines and enemy aircraft which sought to molest shipping, they also conducted a number of life-saving operations. On February 2, off the east coast of Scotland, the crew of one aircraft noticed a number of men clinging to a raft. The crew signalled for rescue vessels and kept watch on the men until they were safely taken aboard one of these. Seven exhausted men were taken off that raft.

On February 3 a German aeroplane was shot down in England. It fell near a Yorkshire farmhouse and was the first enemy machine to be brought down on English soil in the Second Great War. The farm house was near Skerton Castle, about four miles southwest of Whitby. Three of the German crew were wounded and were taken to hospital. One was dead, and another died later in hospital. Part of the engagement was seen from the ground. The Heinkel made desperate efforts to elude the fighters, coming down lower and lower until it was at tree-top height. It then swept across a road and crashed. People living at the farm gave assistance to the crew, one man being taken in, laid before the fire, and given a drink.

This was one of a number of actions fought off the British coast during that day. In one, enemy aircraft approaching the North-east coast were intercepted by R.A.F. fighters, one Heinkel being shot down in the sea and another damaged. In another raid two Heinkels were shot down and a third crippled: the first of these was the one mentioned above that fell near the Yorkshire farmhouse. The second fell into the sea off the mouth of the Tyne. In the fifth fight a Fighter Command pilot, patrolling not far from the coast, suddenly saw tracer bullets flashing past him. He then saw a Heinkel bomber, and went into action together with another British machine.

The two R.A.F. machines closed in, firing simultaneously until a few hundred feet above the water. The pilots saw their tracer bullets hitting the enemy, and the German rear gunner stopped firing. The Heinkel’s undercarriage came down, and clouds of black and grey smoke poured from the enemy machine. The Heinkel then made off, flying one wing down and at what was described as a reduced speed. It was estimated that twenty Heinkels took part in these raids, and the German official communique admitted the loss of three of them.
On this day also (February 3) the first Croix de Guerre was awarded to a Royal Air Force officer. It was given by General Vuillemin, Commander-in-Chief of the French Air Force, to Flight-Lieutenant R. V. Jeff, for his courageous action in attacking two German bombers over the North of France on November 2, 1939, when one of the German machines was brought down.

During the early part of February reports reached London from the United States of large orders being placed by the Allies for American military aircraft. It was known that the Allies were interested in American aircraft, and the French Air Force was using with great success Curtis single-seat fighters and had ordered a number of Douglas D.57 bomber airplanes, but the extent of future orders was still uncertain and the reports from America were certainly inaccurate. There were conflicting reports to be considered, among them the value to the American aircraft manufacturers of appropriate propaganda among the Allies.

attacks on British shipping continued, and the correspondent of the "National Tidende," Copenhagen, declared that the military authorities of Berlin were describing the British East Coast as "a coast of death." On February 9 another Heinkel was brought down on British territory; it crashed near the Firth of Forth shortly after midday. In the same action two other Heinkels were believed to have been damaged. They were trying to attack shipping off the North-east coast, and were engaged by R.A.F. Fighter Command aircraft and by Naval anti-aircraft guns. Other raiders were engaged at various points ranging as far north as Peterhead, and fighters went to the help of a tanker which was being bombed near this port. The raider in this instance was believed to be a Junkers Ju 88 bomber; it climbed away from the ship when it was attacked, and took cover in the clouds. The German attacks on shipping were still being made in the same hit-and-run manner, and were being directed mainly against unarmed vessels. A summary of attacks on British shipping made on February 9 (issued by the Naval Affairs Section of the Ministry of Information) said that three ships had been damaged and none sunk. The "Boston Trader" was machine-gunned and bombed and_styles a leak. The muchadder "Fennoest" was damaged, but towed to port. None of these vessels was armed. Two Admiralty trawlers were sunk.

A Heinkel raider was attacked by three R.A.F. fighters at 14,000 feet over the Thames Estuary on February 13. The attack was pressed home, the aircraft diving, and the undercarriage of the enemy machine was seen to be half-reared towards the end of the action. Moreover, the rear gunner had ceased firing. Despite this handicap, however, the raider got away in the poor visibility prevailing at the time.

Mr. Chamberlain, in the House of Commons, made a notable statement about British policy; he repeated the assurance that "whatever be the length to which others might go, the Government will never resort to blackguardly attacks on women, children and other civilians for the purpose of mere terrorism." The part that had been played by Royal Air Force aeroplanes in the "Almack" affair became known when full reports were received during February 17-20. As described in another chapter, the German ship "Almack" was cornered by H.M.S. "Cossack" in Norwegian waters and nearly 300 British merchant seamen were freed from a long and arduous imprisonment. The "Almack's" progress along the Norwegian coast had been watched by aircraft of the Coastal Command, and
GERMANY MAPPED BY BRITISH AIRMEN

How efficient were the reconnaissance flights of R.A.F. patrols is shown by these photographs. Above, part of the Siegfried Line fortifications near Saarbrücken. “A” indicates concrete emplacements with intercommunication by buried cable. Below is Brunsbüttel, showing a lock over the Kiel Canal, of which this port is the western terminus.

British Official Photographs: Crown Copyright
the prison ship's position indicated to the Navy. In addition, when the actual boarding was taking place air support was given to make sure that no interruption to the operation occurred through German air action. After the prisoners had been taken off, the British destroyers were escorted back to a Scottish port by Coastal Command aeroplanes.

During the whole of this period reconnaissance flights were being continued by Royal Air Force units. On February 21 Heidolgland Bight was reconnoitred in the early morning and on the following day Heinkel raiders were attacked off the North-east coast by Hurricane aircraft. One Heinkel fell with broken wings and dived into the sea. By February 22 the total number of enemy aircraft shot down over British or coastal waters was 41. Many others had been damaged. Meanwhile, no British fighting aeroplane had been lost over Britain or British coastal waters. Reports from France stated that Allied fighters and gunners had brought down 47 German bombers in France.

An incident in which Hurricanes shot down a Heinkel that later crashed near St. Abb's Head, Berwickshire, is worth recounting. The end came after a 30-mile chase through clouds. The Hurricane pilots sighted their enemy ten miles off the Northumberland coast. The Heinkel turned south-east and climbed into the clouds, and for a time he was lost to the Hurricane pilots. Then there was a clear patch in the clouds and a Flight-Lieutenant sighted the Heinkel again. He immediately dived to the attack and met fire from the German rear gunner. But the Hurricane's bullets struck home. The Heinkel's undercarriage immediately dropped and the machine dived steeply to about 10,000 feet, when its wings tips were seen to drop off.

Reconnaissance flights far over enemy territory were made on February 23-25, some of them over great distances. Austria and Bohemia were reconnoitred and leaflets were dropped over Pilsen, home of the Skoda arms works. During one of these reconnaissances, in which the object was to obtain photographs of the Heidolgland Bight and north-west (Germany), a single aeroplane (a Blenheim) was attacked by five enemy fighters when returning from the German Frisian Islands. By skilful manoeuvring the Blenheim managed to avoid its attackers and to return with its photographs. It first went down nearly to sea level to protect itself from attack from below. As the enemy aircraft dived to the attack it dodged and returned their fire. They came again and again, and each time the British pilot swung his machine to face them, a manoeuvre which caused the enemy to turn away and momentarily break off their attack. But they returned almost immediately, and as one of its guns was out of action the Blenheim was finding increasing difficulty in countering the enemy machines. Fortunately at this moment the pilot noticed a cloud bank above, and adopted the risky expedient of climbing towards it, so leaving the underside of his aeroplane open to attack. The Blenheim just succeeded in reaching the cloud bank and in taking cover within it before the enemy fighters could deliver a decisive attack.

The standing patrols in the Frisian Islands region were continued and Berlin was visited on February 27 by aircraft of the Bomber Command. Leaflets were scattered over the German capital for the third time since the outbreak of war. Pilots taking part in the flight reported that over the city itself there were no searchlights or anti-aircraft defences, but on the outskirts there was a great deal of anti-aircraft activity. Among the other places visited were Hamburg, Kiel, and the seaports and estuaries of north and north-west Germany.

A Heinkel was shot down by R.A.F. Sotifs near the mouth of the Firth of Forth at 1 p.m., and later a second Heinkel was brought down off the North-east coast. Its crew of three took to their boats.

Trawlers were still being attacked by enemy aeroplanes, though the fact that they were now armed with machine-guns seemed to have some effect in keeping enemy raiders at a distance. On February 28 more reconnaissance flights were announced by the Air Ministry over such places as Berlin, Hanover, Kiel and Cuxhaven. Flares and leaflets were dropped.

In Finland, during the first few weeks of the New Year, there was a good deal of air activity. Here the Russian air forces proved themselves to be of poor quality in equipment and training, but to be large in numbers. The losses suffered by the Russian air force, when compared with those suffered by the Finns, were very high indeed. But the skill and the superior equipment and training of the Finns did not avail them against the continuous attacks made by large Russian forces.

The Soviet air force divided up its attacks between genuine military objectives and Finnish towns and villages. The Finnish air force, in its defence operations, used aircraft supplied by Great Britain. These included a number of Gloster Gladiator biplane fighters and some Bristol Blenheim twin-engined monoplane bombers. The Gloster Gladiator was probably the fastest biplane fighter ever produced, and, although at this date obsolete in the Royal Air Force, it was a first-class aeroplane, which Finnish pilots handled with great skill, and with which they did a great deal of damage to Soviet bombers.

Probably the severest raids made by the Soviet bombers were on the south Finnish towns of Ekenaes, Hangö and Åbo on January 21. Reports from Helsinki stated that more than 900 Russian aeroplanes took part and that they bombed these towns first with incendiary and then with high-explosive bombs. Finally, from a low altitude, the Russian machine-gunned the men who had come out from their shelters to fight the fires which had been started. It was said that 25 bombs had been
dropped on Abo alone. Although about 400 houses were destroyed, it seemed that the casualties to personnel were not high.

An incident of these bombing raids was the shooting down of a Russian bomber by Finnish anti-aircraft batteries and the refusal of the Russian crew to surrender when they reached the ground by parachute. Both members of the Russian crew were shot at and one was killed. Finnish aircraft retaliated for the Russian raids by bombing Soviet bases, and they claimed to have shot down one observation balloon and eleven Soviet bombers. Although subsequent raids by the Soviet Air Force were not made in such great strength as those of January 21, they caused many more casualties. On January 29 fifty people were killed and 200 injured at Hangö, and 26 killed and 46 injured at Abo. During this attack it was said that fifteen Russian aeroplanes had been brought down. On the day after, the Finnish air force conducted one of its retaliatory raids and swooped on the Soviet harbour of Kronstadt. A Copenhagen report said that the Finnish aeroplanes were manned by Italian pilots and that they obtained several hits on warships, port buildings and hangars.

Little exact information reached the outside world about the work of the Russian parachute troops. They were dropped at many points, but usually the Finns were able to overcome them before they could offer any resistance. Large numbers of the Russian parachutists were either killed or made prisoner. In fact, the Russian use of parachute troops, although highly developed in training, did not seem to be successful in Finland.

Mention must be made of a new form of multiple bomb used by the Russians. It was nicknamed "Malotov's bread-basket," and consisted of a cylinder about eight feet long and three feet in diameter, with a small propeller at the end. It contained two or three tiers of small incendiary and high-explosive bombs, and the working seemed to depend upon the action of the propeller. This caused doors in the sides of the main container to open so that the small bombs inside scattered. At the time it was used British experts regarded this type of weapon as inefficient, and not likely to be so effective as an ordinary bomb of equal weight.

The last air action in the Russian campaign in Finland that needs noticing in the period under review was the bombing raid on Helsinki on February 26. The attack was made in two separate raids with 38 Soviet bombers in the first and 58 in the second. Three of the Russian aircraft were said to have been brought down in these raids and many others during raids on Petsamo in the north. The Russo-Finnish campaign, although it brought fairly large numbers of aircraft into use, shed little light on their value in the prevailing conditions of weather and terrain.

The air operations in the conflict between the Allies and Germany may now be returned to in order to sum up the situation as it appeared up to the end of February. In all some hundred German aeroplanes had been destroyed and a measure of air superiority (in the strictly limited conditions of air war which existed) had been demonstrated by the Allies. Minelaying by air had received a check, and enemy naval and air bases had been damaged. Great Britain had been raided about 100 times, by about 200 aeroplanes in all, but about 50 failed to get back to Germany.

During these first two months of 1940 there was intensified air activity, but it was still confined to isolated attacks on shipping by the Germans and to retaliatory measures by the Allies, or else to purely defensive action. No sign of any large-scale aerial action appeared, though the Allied staffs regarded it increasingly likely as Spring approached.
Diary of the War

FEBRUARY, 1940

February 1. 1940. Battle continues in Kalmi sector of Central Finland. Forces attempting to resume a Russian division. Russian forces advancing themselves on front north of Lake Ladoga. Soviet troops launch violent attack at Summu, in Karelian Isthmus. Greek cargo steamer "Emili Stathalas" and British ship "Bancroft" reported sunk.

February 2. Russian forces continue violent attack on Karelian Isthmus. Twenty places bombarded in southern Finland, including Helsinki and Sottawas. British tanker "British Cominolur" sunk. Danish steamer "Vidar" and Swedish steamer "Frun" reported sunk on January 31.


February 4. Russian attack positions newly occupied by Finns in Kalmi sector, but are repulsed. Viipuri severely bombarded. British ship "Folmord" and Norwegian steamer "Varidil" overdue and presumed lost.

February 5. Finns stated to be within 10 miles of Viipuri. Finns report another big victory in course of which Russian 18th Division, north-east of Lake Ladoga, suffered heavy loss. Canadian Pacific steamer "Bonaventure" and British steamer "Porter" reported sunk. Swedish steamer "Andalazia" overdue and feared lost.

February 6. Russian forces and tanks make violent attack in Summu sector and are repulsed after 10 hours fighting. Reported that Russian parachute troops have been dropped behind Finnish lines and "defeated" Estonian ship "Arm" sunk. Norwegian motor-ship "Segolia" overdue and presumed lost.


February 8. Battle in Kalmi Isthmus reaches its seventh day. Finns report to still be standing firm. French steamer "Marie Dewy" sunk. Third contingent of Canadian Army Service Forces arrives in Britain.

February 9. Admiralty announces that two U-boats have sunk or been sunk by one British destroyer while attacking a convoy. German battleship sunk off Firth of Forth. Two other ships believed damaged. Russian forces continue to attack Summu, south-east of Viipuri River and the west of Ladoga River. British steamer "Chayre" sunk.


February 12. Russian forces continue violent attack on front in Karelian Isthmus. Waves of tanks and infantry return to Russian 18th Division. Finnish forces closely engaged. Sheer force of British forces affects Russian forces. Russian steamers "Skea" and "Gallia" sunk.


February 16. Finns admit Russian penetration of their forward positions and release three prisoners. Swedish Government refuses further request for military assistance and also for passage of foreign vessels through their territory. Danish steamer "Schipperke" and "Rhone" sunk. British steamer "Bekken" sunk.

February 17. Admiral Lytton announce that 200 British prisoners, taken from ships sunk by " Graf Spee," were rescued by H.M. destroyer "Mascall" on Friday night from German auxiliary vessel "Alberich" in Estonian Palace. German steamer "Raudor" scuttled. British steamer "Baron Alba" and Norwegian steamer "Kvænang" sunk.


February 19. H.M. destroyer "Darwin" reported sunk. Finns gain another victory by blowing up Russian 18th Division north of Lake Ladoga. Russian forces begin total attack on Viipuri. British steamer "Ellis" reported sunk.


February 22. Two British bombers shot down by H.A.F., one on Berwickshire, the other off Northumberland coast. Eleven Russian divisions said to be massed for attack on Viipuri. Blizzards hampers transport and air activity. H.M. trawler "Finsbury" sunk. British steamer "Loch Maddy" torpedomed.

February 23. H.A.F. take night reconnaissance flights over Austria and Rohr. Fighting is general throughout Karelian Isthmus. Heavy bombing raids over Finland. Nazi raiding planes attack British shipping by moonlight. Norwegian steamer "Talisker" overhead and presumed lost.

February 24. Russian forces advance in front against Viipuri, but without effect. Casualties to move and fog. Two Soviet detachments reported trapped and annihilated by Finns east of Lake Muola. H.A.F. carry out night reconnaissance flights over Prag, and daylight flights over Helgoland Island. British ships bomb German warships. H.M. trawler "Bonaventure" reported mined. British steamer "Jutland Court" and "Royal Archer" sunk.

February 25. Finns report to have concentrated troops on Kivikko peninsula and on region of Kaalakoski, on coastal railway. They also hold Berovasari and Gulf of Finland.


February 28. Attack on Viipuri continues with infantry and artillery. Finns repel attacks on new positions. Air Ministry releases reconnaissance maritime reconnaissance raids over Germany.

February 29. Russian claim to be within four miles of Viipuri. Finns repel renewed attacks from Kivikko, on Taipale River, and south of Viipuri. Russian 18th Division north of Lake Ladoga. Soviet troops launch violent attack at Summu, in Karelian Isthmus. Norwegian stearmer "Hop" reported sunk.
BRITAIN'S MERCHANT SHIPPING IS MOBILIZED ON A WAR BASIS

The Ministry of Shipping Takes Control of the Merchant Fleets—Chartering of Neutral Tonnage—New Construction and the Control of Shipbuilding—Nazi Air Attacks on Shipping—Mounting Toll of Neutral Merchantsmen—Queen Elizabeth 'Sails to New York—Tabular Summary of Allied and Neutral Losses

After four months of warfare it became clear that for the time being the Germans intended to confine their efforts to the attempted disrupting of sea communications with Great Britain, and all the weapons at their disposal were directed against the merchant shipping of Allies and neutrals alike. From the outset the Admiralty and the Ministry of Shipping had been organizing the Merchant Navy by taking complete control of shipping and shipbuilding, and by bringing into force effective measures to counteract the enemy's various stratagems. In the first two months of 1940 those schemes began to operate as a whole on a permanent and tried basis; while neutral countries were compelled by German attacks to organize their own mercantile fleets on a war basis.

Merchant shipping on the United Kingdom Register at the beginning of the war amounted to 1,000 ships and 2,000,000 tons fewer than in 1914. The needs of the nation, however, with regard to both imports and exports, were considerably greater. The utmost economy in ship space, therefore, had to be observed. British shipping was mobilized at the outbreak of war in the same way as the fighting services. All vessels required for auxiliary naval purposes were requisitioned outright, but trading vessels were allowed to continue in their employment, "direction" being exercised by the Ministry of Shipping through a system of licensing each voyage. By the end of 1939 nearly 80 per cent of the country's needs were being imported on account of the Ministry of Food or the Ministry of Supply, and the Government considered it desirable that all ocean-going tonnage should be requisitioned. From February 4, 1940, every British seagoing ship, except short sea traders and coasting vessels, was operated by the Ministry of Shipping, the former shippers acting merely as managers, receiving payment for their services at rates which were to be fixed at a later date.

The French had organized their shipping on a rather different basis, although in that country complete requisitioning was introduced at the outbreak of war. A federation of French shipping firms was formed which appointed committees to act as technical liaisons between the French Ministry of Marine, the shipowners, and the French Board of Trade. Cooperation between the Allied Governments was ensured by Inter-Allied Committees, which saw that the most effective use was made of the tonnage available for the benefit of the Allies together.

While these steps were being taken, the problem of availability of tonnage had also to be considered. The reinforcement of carrying power and the replacement of tonnage lost by enemy action were all-important considerations. It was decided to exploit the three available methods to the full—by building as much new tonnage as possible, by

BOMBED LINER ABLAZE AT SEA

Over a hundred people lost their lives when a Nazi plane bombed and machine-gunned the British India liner 'Dornala' in the Channel. The liner was carrying a number of British Indians who had been released by the Nazis. Though set ablaze, as seen below, she was brought safely to port.

Photo, L.N.A.
buying as many ships as possible, and by chartering ships from neutrals.

The Ministry of Shipping began to charter an enormous amount of neutral tonnage, as in the war of 1914-18. Large-scale agreements were made with neutral Governments whereby the Ministry hired the services of neutral tonnage on time charter, being compelled, of course, to pay rates many times higher than those paid for British ships on the same voyages.

Similarly, large numbers of foreign ships were purchased by the Ministry of Shipping or by British shipowners to run on the Government's account. More than 22 ships of over 100,000 tons gross had been purchased from the United States alone by the end of January, 1940. Parallel organizations were set up in Canada and elsewhere for the purchase and chartering of neutral tonnage, and many difficulties in British tonnage were met in this way.

The most important method of increasing the amount of tonnage available to the Allies was by new construction. Owing to higher wages and the increased cost of materials, and the years of depression in the shipping industry, very few merchant ships were under construction in British yards at the beginning of 1939. By the same time in 1940, however, every ship in the country was occupied by a warship or a merchant ship building on Government account. At the outbreak of war the control of merchant shipbuilding was vested in the Board of Trade, and later transferred to the Ministry of Shipping under Sir Amos Ayre. In February, 1940, the control of all shipbuilding was transferred to the Admiralty, and Sir James Lithgow, a prominent shipbuilder, was appointed Controller of Merchant Shipbuilding and Repairs, with Sir Amos Ayre as Director.

As with requisitioning, Admiralty control of building during the war of 1914-18 did not come into full operation until hostilities had been in progress for over two years, and when it did it failed to have the effects desired until, almost too late, Lord Pirrie, himself an expert shipbuilder, was put in charge. The Government in 1940, however, profiting by experience gained during 1914-18, announced that the highest output of merchant tonnage ever achieved by the British shipbuilding industry would be possible by the end of 1940.

To achieve this, it was not considered necessary to reopen all the yards which had been closed down during the depression years of the nineteen-thirties. The existing shipyards had mostly specialized in the construction of certain types of vessel, so that they were in a position to build improved types of ships more efficiently and in less time. It was decided to utilize the experience of the various yards in special types and to confine the standardization of shipbuilding to those types as far as was deemed desirable.

Thus by the end of February, after six months of warfare, the British shipping and shipbuilding industries were thoroughly organized on a war footing, and despite the fact that the enemy had seized every chance of causing havoc while matters were in process of transformation, Mr. Churchill was able to announce in the House of Commons that the net losses in tonnage to the British Merchant Navy, after allowing for ships captured, built or bought, amounted to only some 200,000 tons gross.

Meanwhile, great strides were made in providing adequate protection for merchant ships against enemy attack. Previous chapters (see pages 495 and 500) have shown how the initial campaigns by submarine, surface raiders and mines were counteracted. During the winter of 1939-40 the enemy opened up a new campaign—attack from the air. This, though extremely harassing to the crews of the ships involved, resulted in far less damage than anyone, least of all the Germans, expected; and because of the anti-aircraft armament with which so many merchant ships had been equipped, and the defensive powers of warships escorting convoys, the German bombers turned their attentions to defenceless vessels such as trawlers and lightships. As a result, trawlers, too, were equipped with anti-aircraft weapons, and it was not long before
increasing our merchant navy

the seed of greater merchant tonnage led to
an immense speed-up in shipbuilding. Top
left, a welder at work on a merchantman;
top right, a riveter's boy taking a red-hot
rivet to his mate; right, two crew vessels in the
fitting-out basin. Above, Sir James Lithgow,
controller of merchant shipbuilding.

photos: topical; kentish.

these sturdy little craft were giving as
good as they got. Lightships on the
East Coast were replaced by a new type
of automatic light which did not require
a crew to maintain it (see illus. p. 688).

determined air attacks on shipping
in the north sea took place during
January 9 to 11, when four coasters
and a trawler were sunk. A larger ship,
the "levington court," was attacked
by machine-gun and bomb, but by
skilful zigzagging she escaped destruc-
tion. Her crew were fortunate, for they
got off unscathed, as they did in the
following month when their ship was
sunk after striking a mine. Many more
ships were damaged by aerial bombard-
ment, but very few total losses were
caused by this means. More than once
as small a ship as a trawler received a
direct hit from a bomb, yet was safely
brought to port. Thus the latvian
steamer "tautumila" was directly hit by
no fewer than ten bombs, yet was able
to continue her voyage (see illus. p. 687).

even the british india liner "domala,"
the largest ship attacked by air, though
she was set on fire from stem to stern
and 108 of her passengers and crew lost
their lives, was brought safely to port.
her tragedy was due to the use of a
solitary german machine which flew low
over her with lights full on, intending to
be, and succeeding in being, mistaken for

a british machine. she was carrying
british indians released by Germany.

as a further counter-measure against
attack from the air and aerial mine-
laying, a seagoing balloon barrage was
organized. Balloons similar to those
used on land were mounted on barges,
which could move freely from point to
point, always ready to surprise bombing
aircraft in search of solitary merchant
ships.

during January the enemy's attacks
on neutral ships increased. From
January 15 to 21, for instance, 11 neutral
ships of 35,000 tons were sunk, com-
pared with 4 british ships of 23,000 tons.
In the following week only one british
vessel (of 1,500 tons) was sunk, compared with 13 neutrals, totaling 34,000 tons. The mounting toll of neutral shipping at the hands of German U-boats, aircraft and mines soon began to stir the deepest indignation in Scandinavia and Holland, the chief sufferers. Dutch anger was aroused particularly over the sinkings by U-boats of the "Arridskerg," the "Burgundijk," and the tanker "Den Haag." In the case of the "Burgundijk," sunk 100 miles out in the Atlantic, it is said that the U-boat commander compelled her to send out an S.O.S. stating that she was sinking after a collision with another ship. It was proved, however, that she had been deliberately sunk by the submarine. The tanker "Den Haag" was sailing across the Atlantic with a cargo of petroleum for Rotterdam when she was torpedoed without the slightest warning on February 15. Her crew of 39 managed to get away in three boats, two of which were never seen again. After four days the third boat was picked up by the British steamer "Glenorchy."

**Shipping Losses by Enemy Action**

**January, 1940**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tons</th>
<th>Gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger liners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo liners</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5,504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo vessels</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convicts</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trawlers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trimmers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>108,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Auxiliaries</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>108,696</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**French**

- Cargo vessels: 2
- Neutral: 33
- Total: 35
- Total: 115,202

**Neutral**

- Cargo vessels: 33
- Neutral: 43
- Total: 76
- Total: 104,591

**Grand Total**

- Cargo vessels: 43
- Neutral: 76
- Total: 219,863

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral Losses by Flags</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgian (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other flags were treated in the same way, and the sinking of the "Pajala," a Swedish ship bound from Argentina to Sweden with a cargo of grain for the Swedish Government, aroused the strongest protests. Little satisfaction, however, could be got by protests, and the neutral Governments had to take steps to protect their shipping. Neutrals began to join British convoys, in spite of the German threat that this would be interpreted as a hostile act. The Danish shipowners at first decided that all their ships crossing the North Sea should do so in pairs, but as a result it was found that they were sunk in pairs by German submarines, if not by mines.
The Dutch refused to be driven from the seas by threats of illegal action. At the beginning of March it was found that mines had been deliberately laid without warning in the normal shipping lanes at the mouth of the River Schelde, and so Dutch minesweepers had to be brought into action to clear the waters for shipping. Steps had already been taken to fit Dutch vessels with paravanes, and to have departing vessels preceded by minesweepers when leaving Dutch ports.

Partly as a result of these measures on the part of neutrals, and partly as a result of the Allied Navies' actions against submarines and mines, the sinkings of neutral shipping began to fall off again at the beginning of March. Nevertheless, as a result of action on the part of Germany during the first six months of the war, 167 neutral ships, totalling nearly 457,000 tons gross, were sunk, with the loss of hundreds of lives. During the same period British war action had caused the loss of one Norwegian ship, which had entered the minefield at Singapore in disregard of warnings and instructions, and possibly the Belgian ship "Alex van Opstal," which struck a mine off Weymouth that, in the opinion of a Belgian maritime Court, might have been British.

British merchant shipping losses during January amounted to 30 ships of 106,433 tons gross, and during February to 24 ships of 122,530 tons gross. The number of ships lost had thus declined, but four large cargo liners (including the Canadian Pacific "Beaverburn" and the Blue Star refrigerated liner "Sultan Star") were torpedoed, thus putting up the tonnage figures. Fortunately, the sinkings of the larger British vessels were attended with little loss of life.

Furthermore, the submarines which attacked the convoys were almost always immediately sunk. The U-boat which attacked the "Sultan Star" was sunk within half an hour, and on the same day another submarine which attacked the same convoy was sunk.

The odds against a merchant ship being sunk when in convoy remained at about 500 to 1 during the whole period. In fact, by March 13, 1940, 13,000 ships had been escorted by British and 2,000 by French warships and aircraft in convoys, and out of the total of 15,000 ships only 32 had been sunk. Neutral ships had begun to join British convoys at the beginning of the year, and in the first two months only two neutral vessels out of the 1,500 convoyed were sunk.

Many vessels were sunk by mines when proceeding to meet their allotted convoy, among them the Union-Castle liner "Dunbar Castle," 10,002 tons gross, which sank early in January at the mouth of the Thames. Two Blue Funnel liners, the "Proteus" and the "Pyrimus," were sunk in January and February respectively, the former by a mine and the latter by a submarine; while a sudden mine campaign in the Irish Sea accounted for the Liverpool-Dublin motorship "Munster." This occurred at night when more than 200
Neutral Tonnage Lost by German Action
First Six Months of War

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flag</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>103,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>72,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>74,314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>58,741</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>17,099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11,277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7,648</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6,421</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>103,694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>667,582</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passengers and crew were on board, but everyone was saved. (A fuller account of some of these events is given in Chapter 57, on the Sea Airaff.)

It was in February that the largest ship in the world made one of the strangest "trial trips" in history. On the 26th the Cunard White Star liner "Queen Elizabeth" was moved from her builders' down the narrow Clyde to the sea. Thousands of people must have seen her and many more, thousands were aware that she was going, but the news was not known to the world until the day before the vessel arrived in New York, having accomplished her maiden voyage across the Atlantic with part of her launching gear still attached to her hull.

As a corrective to wild estimates by the German High Command of the number and tonnage of ships which their methods had sunk, the highest possible estimate for the first six months of the war is shown in the accompanying Table, which includes many ships that disappeared without a trace and whose loss has been attributed to enemy action, although some of them might have been due to the ordinary perils of the sea. Of the total of 1,239,896 tons sunk in six months, a little over half was British, while 467,852 tons belonged to neutral flags. Of the neutrals the Norwegians were the heaviest sufferers, having lost as many as fifty ships and over 100,000 tons.

Despite the continual strain of navigating in war conditions with lights subdued, of engaging in convoy, of difficulties incidental to the hardest winter experienced for a century, of the ever-present risk of attack from the air or from below the surface of the sea, and of the imminent danger of striking powerful magnetic mines, the officers and men of the Merchant Navy continued their operations. When their ship had been destroyed, even when they had survived one disaster after another, they were always eager to find a new ship and get back to sea again, confident in the protection of the Royal Navy and the aircraft of the Coastal Command, in the guns which they had learned to use, and in the "damping" system by means of which their ships were demagnetized to counteract the menace of the magnetic mine.

Allied and Neutral Losses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FEBRUARY, 1940</th>
<th>TOTAL 1938</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH</td>
<td>Tons</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passenger</td>
<td>2,122</td>
<td>17,720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cargo</td>
<td>30,532</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tankers</td>
<td>8,377</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>32,521</td>
<td>17,923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRENCH</td>
<td>17,408</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>141,271</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUTRAL</td>
<td>116,937</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>256,267</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Pill Box' Protection for Merchantmen

Above is a type of 'pill box' fitted on each side of the bridge of many merchantmen to protect the navigating officers from attacks by 'raiders' bombs and bullets. They have telephonic communication with the wireless room of the ship.

Photo, Fred G. Shaw
Chapter 67

POLAND'S PEOPLE AND CULTURE UNDER THE HARROW OF THE NAZIS

Terrible Deeds of the Conquerors: The Vatican Broadcast—The Assault on Religion—Horrors of the Mass Deportations—Plight of the Polish Jews—Sorrows of the Nazis—Looting of Art Treasures—War Against Polish Culture—How Libraries were Pillaged

Tragic and terrible as 1939 had proved to be for Poland, the dawn of its successor brought with it little hope of betterment. So far from the Nazi terror being mitigated, it was all too apparent on every hand that fresh efforts were to be made to break the Polish spirit.

Not all the efforts of the Nazi police were able to prevent some whispers of the horrible deeds of the conquerors escaping across the frontier into the outside world. In particular, early in the New Year a number of reports reached the Vatican, and it was soon seen that the Pope was not content to allow one of the most Catholic peoples in Europe to be maltreated and compulsory paganized without a voice being raised to protest and to condemn. On January 23 there was a broadcast on Poland from the Vatican wireless station, in the course of which the speaker—obviously one possessed of the Pope's confidence and speaking with his authority—denounced in the most forthright and scathing terms the infamous treatment to which Poland was being subjected.

"The New Year," the speaker said, "brings us from Warsaw, Cracow, Poznan, and Silesia an almost daily tale of destruction, destruction, and infamy, of all kinds, which one is loath to credit until it is established by the unimpeachable testimony of eyewitnesses that the horror and inexcusable excesses committed upon a helpless and homeless people (as peaceful and unprovoked as any in Europe) are not confined to the districts of the country under Russian occupation, heartbreaking as the news from that quarter has been. An even more violent assault on justice and decency is going on in that part which has fallen to Germany—a persecution which is one more contemptuous insult to the law of nations, one more grievous affront to the moral conscience of mankind. A brutal system of internment is being carried on in the depths of one of Europe's severest winters. The richest part of Western Poland is being unmercifully shaved from the Poles and handed over to the Germans, while the best properties are packed off in evil-smelling trains to the war-time regions of Warsaw, which the Holy Father only too well described as the desert where once the smiling harvest waved."

In such uncompromising terms the Vatican spokesman exposed this iniquity of deporting a multitude of hapless Poles from their homes and homeland. Stark hunger stared 70 per cent of Poland's population in the face, as the country's reserves of foodstuffs and implements were transferred to Germany.

"But the crowning iniquity," he proceed, "in an administration that never ceased to allege that it had no claims against religion, lies in the cynical suppression of all but the most pious and devotional of the peoples of Europe."

An administrative decree had restricted public religious services to a bare two hours on Sunday. The thousands of churches in Poland were desecrated and closed for six and a half days a week, which had the effect of "separating an afflicted people from the altar of its hopes and sacrifices."

Then in conclusion he asserted that "all this represents a tremendous responsibility and one more grievous affront to the moral conscience of mankind, one more contemptuous insult to the law of nations, one more open threat at the heart of the Father of the Christian family, who groves with his dear Poland and legs for peace with decency and justice from the throne of grace."

Following this outspoken broadcast, it was revealed that it was largely based on a report brought to the Polish primate, Cardinal Hlond, then in Rome, by a priest who had managed to make his escape from Poland after serving a spell of imprisonment. In the main this described conditions in the Cardinal's own archdiocese of Gniezno. Names were given of priests who had been shot by the Germans, and of others who had been killed by blows from rifle butts, or had died in prison as a result of their sufferings. Yet other priests had been incarcerated and subjected to every form of humiliating task and indignity. Sermons were ordered to be delivered in German, and even the ecclesiastical chant was forbidden to be sung in Polish. Yet in spite of prohibitions and persecution the Poles remained devout. As soon as the church doors were opened the people flocked in to get their children baptized, to confess and receive the Sacrament. Marriages in church came under the ban of the Nazis, who, indeed, did all in their power to discourage any marriages at all between Poles. Communities of monks and nuns were broken up, and dispersed, and their property seized and funds misappropriated.

From several places came reports of the deliberate desecration of sacred places, of "licentious orgies" perpetrated before the altars of a devoutly Christian people.

Included in the report were details of the mass deportation to which the Vatican broadcaster had referred. Forbidden to leave their homes before the hours of 7.30 p.m. and 6 a.m., the Poles were exposed to constant harrying.

"At 9.30 lights in the houses and streets are extinguished, and the hunt for Poles begins. Between 500 and 1,000 are deported every night. These poor people cannot sleep, but standing in dark rooms near windows, await their turn. Sometimes a more humane policeman allows them to bring some clothes, but when these are not ready they have to leave in their night-clothes. In the streets groups from each building wait, covered by the ribs of the Gestapo, for a bus to fetch..."

PLIGHT OF ILL-FED POLES

The mass migrations forced upon the Poles led to much shortage of food among the Polish population. Above is a Nazi food kitchen at which peasants must take what food they can get.

Photo, International Graphic Press

701
them. Sometimes they wait for hours. They are taken to the camp, which is not heated, which has cement floors, and which has no mattresses. Here they sleep on the same straw for weeks, and this soon becomes dirty and infested with vermin. There are no toilets or hot water. No attention is paid to anyone, not even to children or expectant mothers.

Further details were that youths from 14 years of age upwards were deported into Germany, and so, too, were girls, especially the more attractive, between the ages of 15 and 18. The remainder of the deportees—old men, women and children—were conveyed in cattle-trucks to the “Government-General of Poland.”

It was obvious from the evidence that accumulated from many quarters that a determined effort was being made by the Nazis to effect a vast exchange of population in Poland. In the first place, all the Poles were as far as possible driven out of the areas declared part of the German Reich, i.e. the “Reichsgebiet.” These areas were, in the main, but by no means entirely, engaged in driving the Polish element of the population, numbering over seven and a half millions, out of their homes, farms, shops and businesses, so as to create a “living space” for the millions of Germans who were being brought in from Central Poland, the Baltic States, and from overcrowded parts of Germany itself.

According to certain reports which appeared in the Swiss press the repatriation of German colonists from Soviet-occupied Poland had been completed by the end of January. By that date 118,000 persons had crossed the demarcation line into the Western provinces under German occupation, bringing with them 22,000 horses, 1,500 head of cattle, and 12,000 vehicles of all kinds loaded with their personal effects. The German colonists passed through the distributing centre established in the district of Lodz, and were to be settled in 30,000 homesteads confiscated from Polish peasants.

A second flood of immigrants was composed of the Jews who from the Nazi-occupied regions of Poland and from many districts in Germany itself were compelled to remove themselves to the new Jewish “reserve” about Lublin—that “huge sewer,” as a neutral diplomat called it, where thousands of human beings were dumped without any preparations for their arrival, where the necessary food supply was lacking, and which was already overcrowded.

Then there was a movement in the opposite direction, for the Nazis found in hard-working Polish peasants a most convenient source of cheap labour. On February 15 Field-Marshall Goering announced that more than a million “foreign labourers, chiefly Poles,” were to be supplied to German farmers, who would be permitted to employ them on their land at low rates of wages.

Writing in the “Essener Nachrichten” on March 8, Herr Seldte, Nazi Minister of Labour, confirmed the report that a million farm labourers would be sought in Central Poland and that 700,000 were confidently expected; he went on to assert that this influx of Polish labourers would be just as “voluntary” as was the seasonal migration before the war.

Already, it may be noted, a great host of Polish prisoners of war—some said as many as 1,000,000—were toiling in Germany as the serfs of the conquerors.

part of German Poland prior to the war of 1914-18; but even a generation ago, after a century of Prussian rule, they contained a large proportion of Poles who clung to their own language, culture and religious faith. Hand in hand with the mass deportation went a thorough expropriation of all the unhappy victims’ goods and chattels, their homes and land. The Polish Deportation population of the Western provinces incorporated in the Reich numbered on the outbreak of war about 1,200,000 in Pomorza, 2,500,000 in Pomazia, 1,500,000 in Silesia, and 3,000,000 in Lodz—8,200,000 in all, and of these only about 7 per cent, some 550,000, were German. Now these Germans, powerfully abetted and protected by the Nazi conquerors, were

TERROR REIGNS IN WARSAW

Here are scenes to make civilized people shudder. In the top photograph a band of Polish Jews is being marched through the streets of Warsaw by members of the Gestapo. Above, public execution of Poles in the centre of Warsaw by order of the German authorities.

THESE POLES WILL FIGHT AGAIN

Men of the Polish army and air force who managed to escape capture by the Germans, together with Poles living abroad, formed the nucleus of a new Polish Army which trained in England and France. Above, General Sikorski is seen reviewing Polish airmen. Left, a Polish priest holds a religious service for men of the Polish Air Force. Below, left, Polish gunners in training in France. Below, R.A.F. and Polish airmen, hoisted and lowered morning and evening at the training station in England.

Photographs: Sport & General / L.N.A.
many were employed in the work of digging trenches in full view of the French on the Western Front. Their misery was such as to touch the hearts of some of the German countryfolk, and from December onwards there were indications in the Nazi press that the subject of the relations between the Germans and their Polish bondservants was causing the Gestapo some concern.

Shortly before Christmas an official communiqué was issued under the heading, "The Enemy Remains an Enemy," in which the German public was reminded that it was "forbidden to help or supply prisoners of war with articles of food, clothing, money, matches, etc. It is forbidden to frequent public places accompanied by prisoners of war, or to accept from prisoners of war any gifts or articles of food.

Early in January a decree was issued in East Prussia forbidding the population to maintain any kind of personal relations with prisoners of war—in particular, sitting at the same table or in the same room with them, inviting them to restaurants, and attending churches and religious ceremonies in their company. Prohibitions were not always observed, it would seem, and cases were reported—no doubt as examples—of women being punished for little kindnesses shown towards prisoners of war.

Then in Field-Marshal Goering's own newspaper appeared on February 23, 1940, the following report, which may be left to speak for itself.

"Halberstadt, 23.11.39. The District Court in Halberstadt sentenced three men, who did not know how to keep a proper distance from Polish prisoners of war, to terms of imprisonment, varying from one to four months. One of the accused, a man of 49, gave a packet of cigarettes to a Polish prisoner of war who was engaged in loading a car. He was sentenced to one month in prison. Another accused, 60 years of age, was sentenced to four months in prison for having furnished the correspondence between a Polish prisoner of war and his family, by allowing the prisoner to use his address. A similar penalty was imposed on another accused, of 38 years of age, for having given a prisoner of war a sweater and some cakes. Such enormities may seem, perhaps, too severe in relation to the offences committed. Nevertheless, they are but limited, if we remember the 65,000 Germans who became the victims of Polish snubbing and hatred in September. Every Pole is an accomplice in these monstrous crimes. The death of the 65,000 will for ever divide the German and the Pole. Every German who forgets this sins against his nation."

It need hardly be said that the alleged murder of 65,000 Germans was an invention of the Nazi propagandists as justification for the German excesses in Poland during and since the conquest.

When the Nazis could not altogether silence the voice of rumour, the tale of atrocity bore by fortified lops, they made a bold front. They blustered: they brazened it out; they forged, as in the case of the book entitled "The Heroic Battle of the Poles," which many persons in Britain and France were surprised to receive through the post, and still more surprised to find was Nazi propaganda of a most revolting kind directed against and not in favour of the Poles, and containing a gaily set of photographs of the type so familiar in atrocity propaganda—photographs which, equally with the text, were once denounced by the Polish authorities in France as barbecued their minds must not be unsettled by listening to hostile foreign broadcasts. The Jews, he went on, enjoyed the "same freedom of movement as the Poles," and marriages between Poles and Jews were permitted. With hand on heart he maintained that there was not a concentration camp to be found in the area under his rule, and what enemies of the Nazis called the looting of Polish art treasures was inspired in fact by the desire to put the pictures and sculptures in a place of safety.

Arthur Greiser, too, Gauleiter of Warthegau (or Poznan), was interviewed by the foreign journalists, and spoke in much the same strain as his colleague. There was no interference with the Polish church, he said—this was just at the time when the Vatican had stirred the sympathies and aroused the horror of the civilized world—so long as they confined themselves to their religious functions. Only when they embarked on what he described as political opposition was it found necessary to have them "removed." Even so, only one priest had been shot, and he had been properly tried and sentenced by court-martial.

Greiser proceeded to deny that Poles were being expelled from the annexed territory; only those were leaving who wished to live in the region of the Government-General. The incoming Germans were being settled only on country estates which had been abandoned by the Poles and on the lands which were Polish State property. In any case, he concluded, it was obviously impossible to expel the 350,000 peasants who had their homes in his district alone, and even if it were possible to do so, he would not do it, for in his view it was in the broad need of workers that he was unable to spare more than a few to work in the Reich.

Such brave claims as these may have been admitted in Germany, where the better elements in the population gladly sniffed at anything which might lead them to believe that the battle tales brought back by German officials and soldiers were exaggerated, if not altogether baseless. But outside Germany they were given but slight credence. In America, in particular, there was the most forthright, even bitter, denunciation of Nazi terrorism, and the utmost sympathy was expressed for, as "The New York Times" put it, the "helpless people caught in Hitler's trap, defenseless against the brutality of those who execute his orders."

Some there were who strove to escape from "Hitler's trap" into Soviet-
READY FOR NAZI BOMBERS

The photograph above, taken on board the collier "Claywood" in an East Coast convoy, shows the collier's gunner sighting his twin Lewis gun. Owing to the risk of attacks from the air, Admiralty orders to skippers of craft in convoy insisted that gunners should keep night and day watch, and should fire upon any unidentified aircraft approaching within a mile of their ship.

Photo, Central Press
THE NEAR EAST BACKS UP THE ALLIES

 Although the Egyptian Army, like the British, has been weakened, units of the famous and picturesque Camel Corps (above) still remain untimbered by the trend of modern warfare. Their swift and silent patrol work in unspotted regions. General Wavell, who commanded the French armies in the Near East until appointed Governor of the Allied troops in May, 1916, is seen reviewing Italian troops.

Photo: Photographic News Agency / Black Star
In February, 1930, the Cunard White Star liner 'Queen Elizabeth,' largest ship in the world, accomplished her maiden voyage across the Atlantic under conditions of the greatest secrecy. Above, the great ship is seen being berthed at her New York pier. Also shown in the photograph are the 'Queen Mary,' the 'Normandie,' and the 'Mauretania.' Shortly afterwards the 'Queen Mary' and 'Mauretania' left America under sealed orders.

Photo, Fox
occupied Poland. The plight of these refugees from German-occupied territory was vividly portrayed in an account received by the Polish Press Bureau in London from a Pole who escaped from German-occupied Poland in February into the Soviet-occupied portion, and thence fled to Hungary, and so to Italy.

"About the middle of December," he wrote, "I found myself near Brody, close to the demarcation line between the German and the Soviet-occupied parts of Poland. The Germans have set up there a special camp for Jews. There were at that time several thousand Jews in this camp—men, women, and children—and they had all been interned there for having illegally attempted to cross from German-occupied Poland into that part in Soviet occupation. Some were placed there in anticipation of an opening of the Bialystok-German frontier for Jews. The inmates of the camp were practically all of the poorest class.

"The great majority of them were living in the open, without any shelter whatsoever, and most of them had no warm clothing, although it was bitterly cold. Whilst one half of them slept, the other half was waiting its turn to sleep, because they had to bathe part of their clothing in the sleeping ones to keep them warm. These who waited their turn to sleep were in the meantime tumbling or running about in order to keep themselves from freezing. Hundreds of men, women, and children were constantly on the move, because once they stopped, they would freeze. After a few hours, they changed places. Hundreds of them were constantly on the move, while other hundreds had to get up and run about. All were half frozen, anyhow; they were half starved, desperate, hungry. A herd of terrorized animals—not human beings. And this went on for weeks.

"I spent an hour gazing at this spectacle paralysed by the horror of it. Terrified, crushed. It was a nightmare, a hideous dream. I could hardly believe that what I was seeing was really happening before my own eyes. In front of me there were running about demoralized black and blue, and white faces, women, men, children, not human beings at all. How the German guards could look at it, I don't know. I shall never forget it, never in my life have I seen anything so terrible."

Reference was made above to the looting of Polish art treasures. In fact, not only works of art became the objects of barbaric treatment. The national monuments, historic buildings, libraries, and museums—in short, everything which might be taken to represent Polish civilization, that offspring of Latin culture, whose traditions reach back to the very beginnings of humanism in Europe—Against this Polish-Latin civilization the Germans declared and maintained an altogether merciless war.

In Warsaw the ancient castle of the Polish kings was partly destroyed; the Opera House was burnt out, together with a large number of the palaces of the Polish nobility; nearly all the churches were damaged to some extent; and even the resting-places of the dead were raved by shells and bombs. But the accidents of war cannot be held responsible for the destruction of certain historic monuments by the invaders after the armistice had been signed.

Not satisfied with destruction, the Germans laid their hands on the country's artistic treasures. Thus it was reported that the Royal Castle in Warsaw was stripped not only of its furniture and objects of art, pictures, tapestries, and carpets, but even of its locks, door-handles, and central heating plant, on the ground that this ancient memorial of Poland's past, this historic symbol of the country and its capital, had fallen into an irreparable state as a consequence of the "unreasonable defence" of the city. The National Museum was looted of all its pictures, and the magnificent high altar (by Veit Stoss) in the Church of St. Mary at Cracow was transported to Nuremberg, and King Sigismund's Bell shared its exile. The churches of Poznan were similarly treated—indeed, it is said that all the Polish churches were ransacked for anything of value. The libraries of the universities were also pillaged, and hundreds of thousands of books were carried away.

This rapacious spoliation was given official sanction by a decree promulgated by Dr. Franck, Governor-General of Central Poland, on December 21, 1939, which ordered the confiscation of works of art in all private and public collections as well as those belonging to the Church, on the pretext (as we have seen) of ensuring their safety. Trustees were appointed who were empowered to take down declarations of the ownership of all works of art, even of the smallest collections, and refusal of information was punished with imprisonment. Thus, after the Poles had been bereft of their food reserves, raw materials, clothing, furniture, money and jewelry, they now had the mortification of seeing their national treasures, those works of art which were the expression of Polish genius through the centuries, carried away to the galleries and salerooms of the conquerors.

Everything which united the Poland of today with the Poland of yesterday, which linked her civilization with that of the West, seemed to dissolve the Nazis' hatred. But, declared a Polish official statement issued in February, 1940, what the Germans cannot take away from Poland is her spirit and her language, living an immortal life in Polish literature, music, and song; the enormous quantities of Polish books bought by the people since the invasion of their country was an indication of their resolve that the links with civilization should not be broken. "The researches of Copernicus," concluded the statement, "the music of Chopin, the poems of Mickiewicz—these are the eternal values which the Gestapo can never take away from the Polish people."
Chapter 68
CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN NAZI HANDS: AN OCCUPATION THAT BECAME A CONQUEST

For the Czechs, as for the Poles, the coming of a new year brought no hint of better things. On the contrary, indeed: for the one tortured people as for the other there was a multiplication of tragic experiences, an intensification of the terror to which they were subjected. Czechoslovakia, it was true, had been spared the horrors of war; but the humiliations of invasion, of complete subjugation, of repression and oppression—these were hers, in full measure. Equally with Western Poland and Austria she found herself included within the “living space” of the Nazi Reich, and every week that passed saw an intensification of the Nazi efforts to Germanize the country that for a brief twenty years had flourished as a free democracy in the heart of Europe.

Gone now was the pretense that the occupation was anything but a conquest.

THE IRON HEEL ON PRAGUE

On March 15, 1940, the first anniversary of the day on which Hitler seized Czechoslovakia, the Nazis staged a large-scale celebration. Below, German troops are seen marching past Baron von Neurath, the Nazi Protector, in Prague.

Photo, Keystone

shadow of the department of the Nazi State Secretary, Dr. K. H. Frank. The President, Dr. Hacha, was allowed to retain the dignities of his office, but he was little more than a figurehead. Even Baron Neurath, the Nazi Protector, was as far as possible shuffled off the stage. At the same time, everything was done to vilify the memory of President Masaryk, founder of the Czechoslovak State, and to tarnish the fame of Benes, his successor in the presidency; no efforts were spared to demonstrate that the constitution of the republic was “unworkable,” and its vaunted achievements other than what they really were. Fortunately, the continued existence of the local authorities in the towns and villages served as a brake on the Nazification process, for in many cases they developed into nuclei of Czech nationalism.

Czech culture, declared Dr. Benes at the London Press Club on March 29—Czech culture, whose quality had been
acknowledged by the whole civilized world, now lay in ruins, crushed by the iron heel of the Nazi invader. The democratic Czechoslovak press had been abolished; in every editorial office there was a censor who would pass for publication only those articles which had received the approval of the German censorship. Indeed, there was literally no Czech newspaper; everything was dictated, ordered, controlled, superintended, by the Gestapo. The same, he went on, was true of broadcasting.

The whole information service was directed by the German authorities. Listening to the broadcasts of foreign stations was punishable with long terms of imprisonment, and the punishment for the spreading of news heard from foreign stations was death.

The universities were closed for three years following the patriotic demonstrations of October 23 and November 15 (see pp. 346-8). Only one university was allowed to function—the German; and so no Czech could pursue the academic course of studies that would fit him to be a doctor, lawyer, judge, professor, engineer, civil servant, research scientist, or secondary-school teacher. Many of the high schools were also shut; the Nazi authorities gave as the reason that they were short of fuel... The sale of books by the principal Czechoslovak writers was forbidden, and even their reading came under the ban. Orders were issued that the history books used in the schools should be carefully revised and rewritten where necessary, in order to conform with the historical views of the Nazi theorists.

SLOVAKIA
FÊTES 'INDEPENDENCE'

In March, 1939, Slovakia celebrated its first year of "self-government." Above Slovak cossacks are being received by the Slovak General Catto. Right, Dr. Jozef Tiso, President of the Slovakian Republic, addresses the army.

The educated classes as a whole were the particular objects of Nazi persecution. Priests and professors, politicians and civil servants, public officials of every grade and kind, members of the Sokol organization, servicemen and students—by the hundreds, even the thousand, they were placed under observation, arrested and consigned to prison or dispatched to the still more infamous concentration camps. The Gestapo were never idle, and they extended their raids to even the most obscure and distant villages. Shortly before Christmas there was a great wave of arrests, following upon the alleged discovery of the existence of a vast, secret revolutionary organization, former officers of the Czech army, priests and students were rushed off to prison without the slightest semblance of a trial.

What scenes were enacted in the gaols and concentration camps provided material for many horrified whisperings. Dr. Beneš, in the address mentioned above, told of one house in Prague which, according to reports reaching him, had "become a Gestapo torture chamber." He declared that "in the basement of this house there has been established a regular system of the most brutal and cruel martyrdom of Czech patriots, politicans, scholars and officers... We have here in London authentic reports about the Nazi system of police investigation and Gestapo torture in that house, and all that they relate about the happenings there since March 15, 1939, is simply incredible... Every political prisoner was questioned alone, while he was at the same time physically tortured, beaten and humiliated, the whole under such conditions that hardly any left there without being broken for life. Many Czech officers received such treatment that they died under the blows of the Nazi police..."

To extirpate all manifestations of Czech national spirit proved a far more formidable task than the looting of the material wealth of the Czech state and the Czech people, and the turning of the latter into bondsmen. All Czechs between the ages of 15 and 70 were made liable for forced labour service, and tens of thousands were dispatched to Germany. By one means or another the whole economic organization of the Protectorate was brought under Nazi control, and in large measure into Nazi ownership. Within the space of a few months only all the financial undertakings, including, of course, the banking system, were appropriated by the Germans; the vast metallurgical industry, the Bruno armament factory, the Skoda armament works at Pilsen—all so conveniently situated far from the Western Front yet near abundant coal supplies—were switched over from the production of arms for Czech defense to become an integral part of the German war machine; the textile industry was almost completely Germanized; the rich forests of Bohemia were stripped to provide timber for the Reich, Czech supplies of oil were commandeered.
March 15 was the first anniversary of the day on which Hitler seized Czechoslovakia, and the occasion was chosen by the Nazis as one fit for celebration on a large scale. President Hacha dispatched a message of congratulation to the Fuehrer, in which he said: "Today's date reminds me that a year ago I found in your Excellency a full understanding for the Czech people in the sere trial which it was then under going. Having been taken under the protection of the Reich, it has come to share valuable advantages. First, it has been spared the horrors of war, in spite of the fact that in the framework of the great German Reich it takes part in the present war. It therefore behoves me today to pray for blesing and fortune for the glorious armies of Germany which protect the Czech people." Herr Hitler in his reply stated: "Your reminder, Herr President, of our first meeting a year ago has touched me deeply. (It was at this meeting, it may be recalled, that President Hacha was bluntly told by the Fuehrer that he must sign the surrender of his country or . . .) It is not the aim and intention of the German Reich to impose on the Czech people burdens which might threaten national existence or bring their national conscience into conflict with the national necessities of the Reich. Therefore I hope that I shall succeed in sparing this part of the Reich the horrors of war. In this way the wisdom of the decision of March, 1939 (to establish a Protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia) is best proved."

The Nazi celebrations were spread over three days and began with an imposing show of military might in the Wenceslas Square in Prague. Baron von Neurath took the salute and by his side stood President Hacha and Conrad Heitel, notorious leader of the Sudeten Germans. Overhead soared squadrons of German warplanes. This was followed by a military tattoo at night in front of the blood-stained Hradcany Castle. German military bands rendered martial music, and there were parades by German students. The Czech people were advised by the Prague wireless station as to the most fitting ways of celebrating the anniversary, but for the most part they refrained from lighting the pavements, to cheer the legion, to wave flags, or display banners and hunting.

Many may have listened overnight to the Czech news talk broadcast from London and have heard the message from Lord Halifax: "To-morrow," he said, "a year will have passed since the German A Message. Fuehrer, in spite of his most solemn assurance, proclaimed a Protectorate over your country and sent his troops to occupy your ancient capital. By that brutal and treacherous act Herr Hitler destroyed all faith in the pledged word of himself and of his Government. But the act itself is less brutal than the rule of terror which has followed it. During the past year the world has learnt with indignation of the closing of your universities and schools, the arrest of your intellectual leaders, the systematic attempts to deprive your children of the educational facilities for which the country of Masaryk is justly famed, and to destroy not only the economic but also the spiritual life of your nation. That these attempts have failed is a tribute to your courage and to your unity in adversity, and in your determined struggle for freedom the admiration and sympathy of the British people go out to you in equal measure. It is with the firm resolve to restore your freedom that the Governments and peoples of the British Empire have taken up arms together with their Allies. It is their high purpose to right the wrongs which you have suffered, and to create a new Europe in which the recurrence of such evil will be made impossible."
Chapter 69

TURKEY AND THE ISLAMIC WORLD: WIDESPREAD INFLUENCE OF THE ANKARA PACT

The outbreak of the Second Great War found Turkey, now ally of Britain and France (see Chapter 70), more than ever the leader of the Mahomedan world. Kemal Ataturk, by whose genius and iron will the nation of some 18,000,000 peasant-soldiers was welded together and built up into a Great Power, was honored as the saviour of Islam, and his pictures were to be found in huts along the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, as well as along the Amu and Syr-Darya. And by his skillful and enlightened guidance the nation he raised from the dust came to be accepted as the representative of Islam—even though Turkey abolished the Caliphate and gave up her religious leadership of Islam.

Turkey's rise to strength and importance made her the focus of the Balkan Entente, in which, on account of her friendship with Bulgaria—a member of the Entente—she played a particular role. But she became the head, and centre too, of that almost unknown but highly important cordon of western Asiatic Powers built up after the Shah of Iran paid his state visit to Kemal in 1935. On this occasion for the first time the rulers of two outstanding Islamic nations—who for centuries had fought each other on religious grounds, in struggles every whit as bitter as the religious wars that devastated Europe—met and conferred. Both were "modern" men, self-made, valorous and ambitious for their countries.

It may safely be assumed that Kemal Ataturk and Riza Shah Pahlavi did not talk of that old feud between Sunni and Shia—the question whether Omar, the son-in-law, or Ali, the nephew, of the Prophet was the true Caliph, the lawful successor; rather did they discuss their interests in common, and the building up of forces that should prevent their countries being held again as pawns by more powerful nations. Spontaneously a strong friendship sprang up between Kemal and Riza Shah Pahlavi as they travelled back together along the first few miles of the new strategic road that was to link up their countries across the Kurdish mountains, south of the Soviet border—a road later paralleled by a railway whose construction was begun. Soon there followed Turkish officers selected as instructors in military and aircraft technicalities, and the bond was tightened. The alliance was also widened, for, by the good offices of Riza Shah, less than a year later Afghanistan joined Turkey and Iran; a Turkish military mission was sent, and Afghanistan received also a number of civil servants to help her in rapidly building up a modernized fighting force and an efficient administration.

Relations between Iran and Iraq had always been somewhat strained over frontier and shipping questions in the Persian Gulf, despite a treaty of friendship signed in 1929. With Turkish help these difficulties were smoothed away; the Islamic bloc now embraced over fifty million people. Both Iran and Iraq were closely connected with Britain on account of their oil supplies; both, as much as they liked their independence, knew that it was dangerous for a comparatively weak country to possess such treasures in its soil unless it were backed by a Power strong enough to scare away marauders.

The Four-Power Pact of Teheran (1937), culminating feature of a set of events intended to assert the independence and mutual friendship of the Mahomedan powers of the Near East, was not meant to be an option for one of the two groups in world politics which, by then had arisen. Soviet Russia had helped Turkey in many ways during the most trying period of Kemal's fight for reconstruction, and the Moscow-Ankara treaty of friendship still held good. The Soviet, in 1921, had made an effort to wipe out the old feud with Iran by cancelling all privileges obtained under pressure by the Tsarist government. In the meantime, however, there had been many conflicts—the last in 1937, when Moscow had expelled 15,000 Iranians.

IRAN AND TURKEY FIND COMMON INTERESTS

An important friendship in the Near East was cemented when Riza Khan Pahlavi, Shah of Iran, paid a state visit to Kemal Ataturk, the President of the Turkish Republic, in June, 1935. The Shah is seen in centre, in uniform; on the left of the photograph is Kemal Ataturk; on the right is Ismet Inonu, who became President of Turkey on Kemal Ataturk's death.

Photo, Planet News
Afghanistan had felt herself menaced by her northern neighbour ever since Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand were conquered by Russia between 1863 and 1873. If Russia should ever envisage an attack upon India, then Herat or the passes of the Hindu Kush would be her only approaches. Though Nadir Shah strove hard to give Afghanistan a modern and efficient administration and army, he was well aware that he could not successfully defend his territory in such a conflict between the Powers. During the four years of his reign Nadir Shah improved Afghanistan's relations with Britain. After Nadir's assassination in 1933 his brother, Mahomed Hashim Khan—directing the policy of Nadir's young son Zahir, who succeeded to the throne—pursued the same line, especially in trying to help the British authorities with the pacification of the North-West frontier.

Germany held an excellent position everywhere in the Near East just as long as she was powerless and obviously unable to pursue any fresh conquests. Her help in modernizing the civil administrations, improving communications, reorganizing armies, and creating new industries was sought and appreciated. German aeroplanes opened up wide stretches of fertile land to trade with the rest of the world; German engineers planned and built the new capitals of Auklam, Tehran, and Kabul; German archaeologists excavated the treasures of old Asiatic civilizations that had gained a fresh importance for nations becoming conscious of their traditions. But all this was changed when the Nazi government began to show itself as a greedy and ravelling aggressor; Germany's intentions were clearly to be seen when Hitler concluded a "pact of friendship" with Moscow. All the old and latent misgivings were aroused and intensified, and there was a profound distrust of Germany's aims in aiding the Mahomedan countries. During the First Great War that distrust had been awakened by the innumerable mistakes of supercilious Prussian officers, who, ignorant of Eastern psychology, had shown an often crude or overbearing neglect of time-honoured customs and religious rites. This distrust turned into scorn and contempt when Imperial Germany was defeated, and it took some years for a new and republican Germany to win back enough credit for her efficient organizers to be welcomed again.

Turkey was the first of the Saudabad powers to see the "writing on the wall." She cancelled contracts with Germany for building ships, munition factories and public works; she dismissed German advisers and instructors, and finally she erected into an alliance her treaties of friendship with the Western powers. The importance to the Allies of this last decision cannot be overestimated. True, Iran is larger than Turkey, and her population is almost as numerous, Afghanistan, too, has about
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN COOPERATION

In the years leading up to the outbreak of war, Egypt’s army was augmented and modernized and her defences strengthened. Photographs in this page show: King Farouk of Egypt (above); top right, British troops in training along the Suez Canal zone; below, an Egyptian anti-aircraft gun, manned by a crew wearing the old combination of turban and gas-mask; below right, a British and an Egyptian sentry standing on guard side by side at Mersa Matruh, on the Egyptian coast.

Photos, Keystone; P.N.A.; Associated Press; Henri Zuber
two-thirds the area and population of Turkey; but bordering on the Far East as she does, and concentrating on the ambitions of the Regent, Hashim Khan, at reorganizing her into a modern nation, she seems to be less affected by European affairs. Turkey is the leader of the group, and has gained in prestige the more as she has come into European affairs. Thus the understanding with France in July, 1933, that gave Turkey possession of the Alexandretta area twelve months later, was not only the last stage in the rehabilitation of Imperial Turkey, who had emerged from the First Great War as a dismembered and crippled rump state, but a symbolic action taking her once more into the innermost council of the world Powers.

The position of Egypt, that important Islamic state with a population of 15,000,000, was very different in 1940 from its somewhat ambiguous status in 1914. Since the rebellion of Arabi Pasha, in 1882, Egypt had been under British military occupation, which had at first been termed „temporary.” Its khedive ruled the country for his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. On the entry of the Ottoman Empire into the war against the Allies, in October, 1914, the position had to be cleared up: the ruling khedive was replaced by his uncle, a man more amenable disposed towards Britain, and Egypt was proclaimed a British Protectorate, with its own sultan. The country settled down to its new status, and the Egyptian army assisted to police the borders of the Sudan, besides cooperating in other ways in the defence of the country.

After the war Nationalist feeling demanded a measure of self-government, but failure to reach an agreement caused delay in the rectification of Egypt’s status. Eventually, in 1922, the Protectorate was terminated and Egypt became an independent sovereign state under its own king. Certain matters were reserved to the British Government—the security of communications, defence against foreign aggression, control of the Sudan—but 14 years later, in 1936, a treaty between Britain and Egypt finally closed the chapter of the past. Henceforth the Sudan was to be under joint control; British military occupation was to be limited to the Canal zone: in the event of war Egypt would become an ally of Britain.

Thus the outbreak of the Second Great War found Egypt standing at the side of Britain as an ally, and no Islamic country was more gratified and pleased by the alliance with her former suzerain, Turkey.

Turkey’s influence upon her Mahomedan friends and allies might at first sight appear to have been lessened by her upward progress and her entry into the ranks of the Great Powers. True, she had done away with the Sultanate, and had abolished the Caliphate—that spiritual domination she had been supposed to exercise by virtue of Mahomet’s sword and standard deposited in the Eyub Mosque at Istanbul. The religious leadership of Islam had then fallen, in a way, upon Ibn Saud, that fierce Purtan ruler of Arabia, while the question of a formal new investiture with the title of Caliph was left in abeyance. But Oriental peoples, with
all their conservatism, religious zeal and deep mysticism, are fundamentally realist. They have realized, indeed, that even a pill, or a blow, can lead to defeat if it is worked on the wrong side, and that a country can be successful only if all its means in men and material resources are marshaled according to modern requirements. Thus a degree of compromise was attained, even in such countries as Saudi-Arabia, that permitted a clear and bold decision in emergencies such as the new Great War—a decision that in this case was in favour of the Allies. The cause of Britain and France was espoused everywhere between the Oasis of Cufra in the Libyan desert, where the Sheik of the Sciussi gives his religious rulings, and the sources of the Amu-Darya in the Pamir chain; between the lower course of the Maritta in the north and Bab el Mandeb in the south.

The results were manifold. One of the first was the disappearance of those protracted “troubles” in Palestine fostered for years by German and Italian money and fomented by emissaries of the Axis Powers. As if by magic Arabs were henceforth able to live together with Jews and to show readiness and even enthusiasm for voluntary service with the British forces. The Franco-British army in Syria impressed the Arabs as every display of power impresses Oriental minds, and was a tangible proof of the Allies’ readiness and willingness to back up their friends. The Arabs felt that their “protectors” France and Great Britain—protectors in a sense quite different from that implied by a Nazi protectorate—were able to save them from the hands of another Tamerlane who would treat their lands as colonies and themselves as slaves belonging to a minor and despicable Semitic race. The growth of such feelings, together with Turkey’s prompt and unambiguous decision, brought to the Allies no fewer than a hundred million partisans, despite all that Hitler and Mussolini might do to bully, bribe or coerce them into neutrality. This strong support from the Islamic world has aided the Allies in safeguarding the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal and in maintaining the land and air routes to India. The Eastern Mediterranean can be closed to aggressors, and Africa as a whole becomes a forbidden land for the enemy.

Italy might still hold ambitions for her new “Empire”: but if she were to go to war against the Allies she would soon feel the weight of Islamic opposition from within and without. Her conquest of Albania, last Mahomedan country in Europe, forfeited whatever credit might have been won to Italy by her clever propaganda and the money and armaments distributed in Palestine and elsewhere. Further, Ibn Saud, powerful and mysterious overlord of Arabia, seemed to take a strong dislike to Italy’s “pottering” in Yemen: he would hardly tolerate much independence on the part of the elusive Emir Yaha, ruler of Yemen, if events should provoke a conflict.

To sum up, as a result of the friendliness of the Arab world and the fact of the Franco-British alliance with Turkey, the Allies could count on the aid and sympathy of 70,000,000 people in the Near East:

In addition, there would follow in the wake of this leading group Saudi-Arabia and the Mahomedan communities in an area embracing, for example, the Dutch East Indies. We cannot even exclude Mahomedan communities in countries “beyond the fence” in Italian Libya, Russian Turkmenistan and Uzbequistan. This favourable position can be contrasted with that existing during the First Great War, when this entire body of support was essentially on the side of the Central Powers, or was at best divided in its loyalty.
Chapter 70

TURKEY: GUARDIAN OF THE NARROWS AND KEY TO THE NEAR EAST

Turkey of Today—Effect of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Rape of Poland—The Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty—Fears that the Red Army Might Invade Central Asia—The Saadabad Treaty—Turkey Sought a Rapprochement in the Balkans—Naval and Military Forces of the New Turkey

Of all the many comparisons that may be drawn between the Second Great War and the First there is none more striking than that of the position of Turkey. From the early spring of 1915 until the opening days of the following year the two great Western nations who were allies then and are allies now battled furiously against the Turks, who, then as now, held the vital gateway of the Dardanelles. For generations to come the names of Anzac and Suvla and Helles without the emotion born of admiration for brave men fighting against tremendous difficulties. A picture comes to mind composed of naked rocks and blistered scrub, of men struggling upwards against a withering hail of bullets, of valour of epic quality but doomed to failure. There was one August day when victory was only a hand's breadth away, but before it could be grasped a man named Mustapha Kemal intervened. So it came to pass that in the dead of night the survivors of the invading army slipped away, and Gallipoli passed into one of the great "ifs" of history.

Years went by and, to quote the vivid phrases of H. W. Nevins, "the peninsula where men of our race had faced the utmost suffering, hardship and strain, the utmost terrors of death, was left to be haunted by memories; the crowded caverns in which they had made their dwelling-places fell in; the trenches they had dug and held to the death crumbled into furrows; the scattered bones that cost so much in the breeding returned to earth."

Then a strange thing happened. When war had come once again to Europe, what had cost Britain 200,000 of her sons slain or wounded was granted in effect by a few strokes of a pen when, on October 19, 1939, Turkey took her place beside her old enemies: Britain and France and pledged herself to aid them to the utmost if an act of aggression should bring the tide of war to the shores of the Mediterranean.

Not a quarter of a century elapsed between the evacuation of Gallipoli and the conclusion of the Anglo-French-Turkish Treaty. The intervening years brought many changes. In 1935 no sultan lived in his seraglio at Constantinople; a caliphate both had been swept away by the reforming hand of Kemal, or Ataturk as he was officially styled, and Constantinople—now Istanbul—had taken second place to Ankara, which, only a few years before, had been a provincial town of the Anatolian highlands remote from the main stream of life.

Islam had been disestablished; the sultan had been banned, and so, too, the woman's veil; polygamy had been frowned upon, justice put on a new basis, education fostered by the introduction of the Latin alphabet instead of the cumbersome Arabic. Finally, for the misgovernment of olden days there was substituted a system which, though not totalitarian like the Nazi or Fascist model, was decidedly authoritarian, in which power was monopolized by one Party—the People's Party—and the ultimate power resided in the hands of the President of the Turkish Republic, Ataturk, followed upon his death in 1938 by General Ismet Inonu.

Yet in one respect at least Turkey is as she was. Today, as a quarter of a century ago, and for centuries before that, she is the guardian of the Narrows—the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, the Bosporus—which link the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. The fortress which barred the passage of the Allied warships in 1915 still commands the Straits, and not a vessel passes to or from the ports of southern Russia, Bulgaria, and Rumania without her permission. Astride that channel she holds in her hands the key of the Near East. After the First Great War there was a determined attempt to wrest that key from her hands. By the abortive Treaty of Sèvres the Straits and their hinterland...
were to be put under the control of a Commission of the Allies, but at Lausanne in 1923 Japan managed to retain for Turkey her full territorial rights over Constantinople, although the Straits themselves were the subject of a convention which provided for the demilitarization of the shores and islands and for the free passage of merchantmen, ships of war, and aircraft both in peace and war.

Thirteen years later, however, the Montreux Convention authorized Turkey to fortify the Straits, limited the number and size of foreign warships allowed in peacetime to enter the Black Sea from the Mediterranean and, while it left the decision as to the opening or closing of the Straits in wartime to the League, accorded to Turkey full discretion in the case of a war in which she was a belligerent. Thus Turkey was reconstituted the guardian of the Dardanelles.

This was the position when the political balance of Europe was upset in the autumn of 1939 by the conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet pact, followed by the invasion and partition of Poland. For some months Turkey had been negotiating an anti-aggression pact with the Allies and also one of non-aggression with the Soviet—with whom, in fact, she had been on most friendly terms since the conclusion of the Treaty of Moscow in 1921. In September, 1939, Turkey’s Foreign Minister, M. Sarajoglul, had gone to Moscow to settle the terms of the new pact, and was confronted by the proposal that Turkey, in return for the pact, should agree to close the Straits to all foreign warships hostile to Russia, even though they were proposing to enter the Black Sea in accordance with the provisions in the Montreux Convention. M. Sarajoglul refused to consider this proposal. Molotov at length agreed to waive the clause, but on the day appointed for the pact’s signature he hesitated—probably because of pressure from Berlin.

Sarajoglul returned to Ankara without the agreement; and a few days later, as mentioned above, on October 19, the Anglo-French-Turkish pact was signed in Ankara by Dr. Reyik Saydam, the Turkish premier, and the British and French ambassadors; also present were the Allied Commanders in the Near East. Some mention of this step—what was hailed as an outstanding success for the Allies—has been given in an earlier chapter (see page 294), but here we may deal with the matter at greater length.

Announcing on October 19 the signature of the pact, Mr. Chamberlain reminded the House of Commons that on the previous May 12 the British and Turkish Governments had agreed to conclude “a definitive long-term agreement of a reciprocal character in the interests of their national security.” Subsequently it had been decided that this long-term agreement should take the form of a tripartite treaty between Great Britain, France and Turkey, and

**ALLIED AIR CHIEFS IN ANKARA**

At the invitation of the Turkish General Staff, Air Chief Marshal Sir William Mitchell, Commander-in-Chief of the R.A.F. in the Middle East, and General Jeanneaud, Commander of the French Air Forces in Syria, paid a visit to Ankara in March, 1940. They are seen above passing the guard of honour on their arrival.

*Photo, Wide World*
agreement on the terms had been actually reached some three weeks earlier. Signature was postponed, however, as it was hoped by the Turkish Government that the visit of the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs to Moscow might result in the conclusion of a parallel treaty between Turkey and the Soviet Union. The negotiations in Moscow had been temporarily suspended, however, as the Turkish Government felt that certain of the proposals which had been made to them could not be reconciled with points which had already been agreed between Turkey on the one hand and Britain and France on the other. "Nevertheless," continued the Premier, "it has been announced both from Moscow and Ankara that Turkey's relations with the Soviet Union continue as in the past to rest on a foundation of friendship."

Shortly after the Premier's announcement, the text of the Treaty was issued as a White Paper. It consisted of nine Articles and two Protocols. The first six Articles are quoted in full:

1. In the event of Turkey being involved in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by that Power against Turkey, the Turkish Government will co-operate effectively with the Turkish Government and will lend it all aid and assistance in their power.

2. In the event of an act of aggression by a European Power leading to war in the Mediterranean area in which Turkey is involved, France and the United Kingdom will collaborate effectively with Turkey and will lend it all aid and assistance in their power.

3. So long as the guarantees given by France and the United Kingdom to Greece and Rumania by their respective declarations of April 18, 1933, remain in force, Turkey will co-operate effectively with France and the United Kingdom and will lend them all aid and assistance in their power, in the event of France and the United Kingdom being engaged in hostilities in virtue of either of the sub-guarantees.

4. In the event of the United Kingdom and France being involved in hostilities with a European Power in consequence of aggression by that Power against either of those States without the provisions of Articles II or III being applicable, the High Contracting Parties will immediately consult together.

It is nevertheless agreed that in such an eventuality Turkey will observe at least a benevolent neutrality towards France and the United Kingdom.

V. Without prejudice to the provisions of Article III above, in the event of either:

1. Aggression by a European Power against another European State which the Government of one of the High Contracting Parties had, with the approval of that State, undertaken to assist in maintaining its independence or neutrality against such aggression; or

2. Aggression by a European Power against another European State, constituted, in the opinion of the Government of one of the High Contracting Parties, a menace to its own security.

the High Contracting Parties will immediately consult together with a view to such common action as might be considered effective.

VI. The present Treaty is not directed against any country, but is designed to ensure to France, the United Kingdom and Turkey of mutual aid and assistance in resistance to aggression should the necessity arise.

Article VII states that the provisions of the Treaty are equally binding as bilateral obligations; and by Article VIII the High Contracting Parties engaged in hostilities in consequence of the Treaty declare that they will not conclude an armistice or peace except by unanimous agreement. Article IX is concerned with the question of ratification. Of the two Protocols the first states that the Treaty comes into force from the moment of its signature, while the second contains a vital paragraph—"The obligations undertaken by Turkey in virtue of the above-mentioned Treaty cannot compel that country to take action having as its object, or involving as its consequence, entry into armed conflict with the U.S.S.R."

After the Treaty, as before it, Turkey was a neutral, but her neutrality so far as the Allies were concerned was friendly. The guardian of the Straits was not at war; she hoped, indeed, to be able to preserve not only her own peace but that of south-eastern Europe. In particular, she hoped to maintain her good relations with Soviet Russia.

Those relations tended for the time to be "correct" rather than "cordial." Turkey could not forget that her whole ally was now a partner of Nazi Germany, and had not been loath to share the spoils of the iniquitous and entirely unprompted and unwarranted attack on Poland. The Kremlin, on the other hand, deeply regretted the Ankara pact, the more so when the signs multiplied that the long war might be extended to the region of the Black Sea, whether by a German onslaught on the Balkans via Rumania, or by an Allied counter-stroke which might find a target in the Russian oilfields of the Caucasus. When the Russians attacked Finland, fear of war in Turkey increased, for it seemed that the Soviet under Stalin had embarked on a course of imperialist expansion on familiar Manchurian lines.

As the Finnish struggle drew to its climax there were many in Europe who prophesied that very soon the war clouds would be gathering over Turkey. Russia, it was suggested, having settled with her neighbour in the north-west, would turn to the south-east and reach out aggressive into the Caucasus, and beyond. But these suggestions failed altogether to upset Turkish equanimity. The Turks refused to believe that any real military threat would materialize far beyond the Caucasus, for not only is the country rugged and mountainous, but the roads
EARTHQUAKES CAUSE HAVOC IN TURKEY

Tremendous havoc was caused in the Turkish province of Anatolia by the devastating earthquakes of December, 1939, and January, 1940. Above, President Inonu (centre) is seen with General Orbay, in charge of the relief work, visiting one of the wrecked towns.

Photo: Paris

are few and poor and were considerably worsened, if not destroyed, by the earthquakes of December, 1939.

In the light of the campaign in Finland, the Turks considered that the Soviet troops could not operate successfully so far from their bases as Iran, still less Afghanistan and India. Far more likely, it was thought in Ankara, was a Russian demonstration in the Caucasus with a view to making down the Turkish forces while the Red Army, with or without the support of the Nazis, invaded Russia with the ostensible object of recovering Bessarabia.

Not without reason Turkey came to regard her own safety as bound up with that of her allies in the Balkan Entente, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Greece.

Those at her helm did not forget that in the years of the Great War their country had been dragged behind the Kaiser's chariot in an attempt to realize the Pan-German dream of a vast domination which would stretch from Berlin to Baghdad. That dream, they knew well, had appealed to the Nazis as to their predecessors of a generation before, and hence Turkey played a prominent part in seeking a rapprochement between the Balkan countries with a view to presenting a firm front to any aggression from without.

In spite of Moscow's increasing coolness, Turkey in the New Year increased her efforts to preserve peace in her corner of the world, but at the same time she was not neglectful of her own defence. From the outset of the war her Government strove to safeguard the national resources, and a determined effort was made to loosen Germany's economic hold on the country.

In the first place she controlled the Dardanelles, and if by reason of the Ankara Treaty she joined the Allies in active operations, then they might confidently expect that the Straits would be open to the passage of their fleets.

Turkey's army, too, was excellent, composed as it was of nearly 200,000 men, with a war potential of 700,000, and it could not fail to make an invaluable contribution to the Allied strength in the Near East. The Turkish Navy was in a different case, consisting as it did of two old light cruisers, a number of smaller vessels and the battle-cruiser "Yavuz" (formerly the German "Goschen," taken over in 1914, which nevertheless ranked as the most powerful unit in the Black Sea), with a personnel of some 5,000 men. Of late years an extensive programme of reorganization had been embarked upon, and vessels had been refitted as money was made available for the purpose.

Here, again, Turkey might help in the control of the Black Sea.

That sea, in the event of war in the Balkans, would be of primary importance, for across it from Batum to Constanza and Galatz go the tankers conveying Russian oil from the wells at Baku to Germany via the Dardale, while from Odessa set out the Russian wheat ships for Italy.

If the Allies had effective control of the Black Sea, these commercial streams might be dammed, and, moreover, the Soviet Union would expose a long coastline to the attentions of the Allied navies. Small wonder that in a fit of nerves Stalin gave orders that forts on the Russian shores of the Black Sea should be put in an efficient state of defence, for a landing in the Crimea—or, still worse, in the Caucasus—would be of the most serious consequence to the Soviet's military and economic situation. Furthermore, with the supply of oil from Russia's principal oilfield cut off, Nazi Germany's war potentiality would be immensely reduced, while that of the Allies would be correspondingly increased. Moreover, it should be remembered that Turkey herself is rich in raw materials—oil, minerals and so on—which have hardly begun to be seriously exploited.

In the spring of 1940, then, Turkey remained on the alert. Well she knew that at any moment she might be called upon to fight for her security, even her continued existence as a nation; and her friends and enemies alike were agreed that when that moment struck her troops would fight with the dogged valour that has ever characterized the exercise of the Turkish arms.
Chapter 71

THE SEA AFFAIR, MARCH, 1940: BEATING THE MAGNETIC MINE

The "Queen Elizabeth" Goes to New York—How Secrets of Magnetic Mine were Probed—De-Gaussing Our Merchant Ships—Anti-Submarine Successes—Loss of the "Domala"—Ineffectual German Air Attack on Scapa Flow—British Trawlers Hit Back—Mr. Churchill on the Price of Neutrality

During the month of March, 1940, the depredations of the Germans on merchant shipping diminished so much that the British losses were the lowest since the war began, and indeed one whole week went by without the sinking of a single British ship. Whenever the Germans did strike their attacks were countered. A raid on Scapa was ineffectual. Bombing and machine-gun attacks on trawlers continued to be repulsed by hardy seamen armed with small but effective weapons. The neutrals again suffered by far the heaviest losses.

The arrival and departure at home ports of one or two notable ships showed how completely the Royal Navy now held command of the sea. The aircraft carrier "Ark Royal," so repeatedly "sunk" by the German propaganda department, arrived in perfect trim at Portsmouth, having steamed 75,000 miles; the giant "Queen Mary" and the "Manuretainia" left the security of New York harbour, while the newly completed 85,000-ton "Queen Elizabeth" reached that security after an uneventful crossing of the Atlantic (see Illus. pp. 709 and 797). It was learnt that this latest triumph of Clyde shipbuilding had been fitted with a special safety device against magnetic mines.

These mines were laid by the Germans, by submarines and other means, quite early in the war. On November 2, 1939, a German aircraft was seen to drop two in the vicinity of Shoeburyness. One of these fell on the seashore and when later it was more closely examined its unusual importance was instantly recognized. Next day a party from the Mine Experimental Department of H.M.S. "Vernon"—the torpedo school at Portsmouth—arrived to inspect the mine and by 4.30 a.m. had taken paper rubbings of its outside fittings. Special tools of non-ferrous materials were made, and at midnight Lt.-Commander J. G. D. Ouvry, of H.M.S. "Vernon," volunteered to go out by himself and dismantle the mine by moonlight. He left with the party details of the exact parts which he proposed to remove first. Thus, as the mine exploded, those who came after him would have some clue to guide them in tackling the next one secured.

Lt.-Commander Ouvry first removed a fitting which he took to be the detonator, and then, working all day until 4.40 p.m., he and his party slowly dismantled this perilous machine, removing its outer plating and several other fittings. At one point in their hazardous investigation they were startled to find yet another detonator. In the late afternoon the mine was pronounced safe enough for removal to the Mine Experimental Department at Portsmouth, where every secret of the devilish device was revealed. The mine weighed about 1,500 lb., and it was estimated that whereas a submarine could lay between 30 and 40 at a time, an aeroplane's load would be limited to two. There was nothing unusual in the nature of the explosive, of which about 700 lb. was used. The novel feature was the magnetic device for setting off the detonator. This comprised a delicately poised magnetic needle which was deflected when a ship came over the mine; by this means an electrical contact was effected, thus closing a circuit and firing the mine. For his skill and courage Lt.-Commander Ouvry was awarded the D.S.O. and one of his assistants, Chief Petty Officer Baldwin, the D.S.M. Not long afterwards C.P.O. Baldwin met his death in the course of his perilous work.

When the news was issued that the "Queen Elizabeth" had arrived safely in New York on March 7, it was stated that she had been fitted with a non-magnetic girdle, consisting of current-carrying electric cables running right round the ship, following the line of the hull round the upper deck or bulwarks. Other details were secret, but the effect was to neutralize the magnetic field of a steel or iron ship and thus render it unable to affect the magnetic needle of the mine. The system was spoken of as de-Gaussing, from Gauss.
the unit of magnetic force, named after the scientist, K. F. Gauss.

The device could be fitted to a ship of any size from a yacht to a liner and was quick and cheap to install. By its installation, many hundreds of ships were quickly made immune—as safe, that is, as wooden ships from the menace of the magnetic mine.

While the protective measures of the British Navy were everywhere lessening the toll of casualties, there was no slackening in the offensive against the Nazis, and although the Admiralty preserved its customary silence in the matter of U-boats known to have been sunk, there is no doubt that at this time a number met their doom.

On March 4 an aircraft of the R.A.F. attacked an enemy submarine in the Schillig Roads, off the German naval base of Wilhelmshaven, and almost certainly destroyed it.

**Fate of a U-Boat**

The aircraft was on reconnaissance duty when the submarine was sighted in shallow water on the surface. Four bombs were dropped, one of which registered a direct hit between the conning tower and the stern. After the attack the submarine was seen to be enveloped in a cloud of greyish-black smoke, with only the upper part of her conning tower visible in the water. Again, on March 11, a British reconnaissance machine was on duty over a strongly defended area of the Heligoland Bight when the pilot spotted a submarine, 1,000 feet below him, moving slowly on the surface. Attacking immediately from a height of 500 feet, he registered two direct hits on the salvo of four bombs. This pilot, Squadron Leader Delap, was awarded the D.S.C.; Srgt. Gunning, the pilot of the earlier exploit, received the Distinguished Flying Medal.

One of the most thrilling stories concerned a running fight, lasting 17 hours, in which the armed trawler “Northern Spray” chased a U-boat to its doom. The small ship, having detected a submarine, dropped depth charges with such effect that the U-boat quickly came to the surface. It immediately opened fire with its guns, and the trawler fired in return. The U-boat then made off with all possible speed, working up to 16 knots. The trawler, which had never before done more than 15 knots, was hit by the U-boat’s shells and the crew began to flood the engine-room. The hero of the occasion was the chief engineer, who, standing in water, forced up the trawler’s speed until she drew closer and closer to the submarine. Throughout the chase shot after shot was exchanged. Eventually a lucky hit sent the U-boat to the bottom. The skipper was able to bring his ship home. The chief engineer, Mr. G. L. Westerden, was awarded the D.S.M.

One further story of the month illustrates the detective efficiency of the “Asio” device (an abbreviation of Anti-Submarine Detector Indicator Committee). An escort vessel was in company with a convoy when, at 11 o’clock in the morning, while passing through a thick fog, a neutral steamer in the convoy was torpedoed. After a few minutes delirious contact with the submarine was obtained by means of “Asio,” the instrument which Mr. Churchill described as “impalpable fingers groping beneath the surface of the sea.” Depth charges were dropped, but failed to bring the submarine to the surface. The hunt continued, and the escorting vessel again gained contact by “Asio” and dropped more depth charges. Still, the submarine did not appear. About two o’clock two destroyers appeared on the scene and joined in the chase, and they in turn were joined by a French destroyer. At 2:30 the submarine was sighted at two miles. Shots were fired, but the U-boat received the actual coup de grace from the bomb of a flying-boat which had taken up the attack. The German crew had abandoned the submarine. All but the captain were rescued.

What with Nazi shipping bottled up in German harbours, and the policy of scuttling all ships that seemed to be in imminent danger, British submarines had very rare chances of retaliation. But on March 29 it was announced that the German ship “Heddenheim”
THE KING IS SHOWN A MAGNETIC MINE

The secret of the German magnetic mines was soon discovered by the British Mine Experimental Department. Above, H.M. the King is seen inspecting the first magnetic mine salvaged in this country. With him is Lt. Commander J. G. D. Overy, D.S.O., who was decorated for the skill and caution with which he undertook investigations upon the mechanism of these weapons, as related in Chapter 71.
cruiser in Northern waters. On March 26 an aircraft of the R.A.F. Coastal Command on reconnaissance attacked and sank an enemy patrol vessel.

Losses suffered by H.M. trawlers, and at various times the Admiralty announced the sinking by mine of the "Maida," the "Peridot" and the "Loch Anster." With the loss of this last ship, sinkings of this class of vessel had, up to March 16, amounted to 18, nearly all being vessels taken by the Admiralty from the fishing fleets at the outbreak of war. Nine of the total were mined; five were reported missing probably also mined; three were sunk as a result of damage received from bombs or torpedoes discharged by hostile aircraft; and one was lost through collision. The most tragic loss amongst merchant shipping was that of the British India steamer "Dornula" (3,411 tons), sunk by a German Heinkel bomber in the English Channel between four and five on the morning of March 2. The bomber dropped four bombs, three of which struck the ship, instantly killing a number of people and setting the vessel on fire. On board were 143 British Indian subjects who had been released by the German Government and were being repatriated. Not content with bombing the ship, the pilot machine-gunned the helpless passengers lined up on deck waiting for rescue; then rendered very difficult by the rough seas. A Dutch ship and various British vessels came to the rescue, but of the 100 who lost their lives many were drowned (see p. 600).

On March 17 the Germans attempted another aerial attack on the fleet anchored at Scapa Flow—the first since those of October 16 and 17, 1939. It was singularly unsuccessful; no military objectives were hit; there were seven casualties to naval personnel, and one warship was slightly damaged.

One civilian was killed and seven wounded. The incident was the subject of highly coloured comment on the part of the Germans, one claim was that they had inflicted £22,000,000 damage at Scapa, and the Prime Minister felt called upon to make a statement in the House on March 19. The Germans, he said, had claimed that they had damaged at least three battleships, one cruiser and two other warships. The facts were that only one battleship was damaged; she was not a capital ship, and the damage was of a minor character. Not more than 20 bombs were dropped in the Flows, and the real difference between this raid and the raids which preceded it was that for the first time bombs were dropped on land. During this attack 121 high explosive bombs and some 500 incendiary bombs were dropped on land.

A tiny village, Bridge of Waith, on the shore of the Loch of Stromness on the Orkney mainland, felt the full force of the raid. It was here that James Lister, a local employee, was killed when an escaping German aircraft unloaded 19 high explosive bombs for the enemy airman had to beat a retreat from the fire of ships' batteries, shore defences and fighter aircraft.

British trawlers continued to use their weapons with great effect against the enemy.
FRENCH TROOPS IN THE SYRIAN DESERT

At the outbreak of war an immense Army of the Levant was assembled in the Near East as a latent threat to any attempt by the totalitarian dictatorships to drive in that direction. The Islamic world stood firmly behind the Anglo-French-Turkish alliance, resolved to check any aggression. Above, French Colonial troops are seen on the march during manoeuvres in Jebel-ed-Druz, on the borders of Transjordan.

Photo, Editions Continus de l'Armée
PALESTINIANS ARRIVE IN FRANCE

The cause of the Allies was espoused by virtually the whole of Islam. The Palestine troubles, so carefully concealed by emissaries of the Axis Powers, vanished, and Arabs and Jews composed their differences to help Britain. Above is a contingent of the Palestine Labour Corps arriving in France for service with the B.E.F. It contains both Jews and Arabs.

British Official Photograph. Crown Copyright.
THE CRUISER 'COVENTRY' IS HOME FOR REFIT

There is much to be done when a warship comes home after a long spell at arduous duty. All the engines, armament and gear are overhauled, and ammunition and stores replenished, while the ship's company enjoys a well-merited spell of leave. In this photograph of the bow of H.M.S. 'Coventry,' men in overalls are seen overhauling the battery of anti-aircraft guns on the deck.

Photo, Central Press
"SPOTTER" FOR THE FRENCH NAVY

Autogyros were used by the French navy for submarine spotting, since this type of aircraft is capable of hovering over a defined area and can land in very restricted space, such as the deck of a warship. Above, an autogyro of the French Navy is seen on the landing ground of an aerodrome near Toulon.

Photo: Heinrich Bolli
South Coast Victim of Nazi Air Raider

The British ship 'Harrow,' above, was bombed by enemy aircraft off the South coast in March, 1940. Four of her crew were killed and several injured. The vessel remained ablaze for some days.

Photo, Fox

German bombers. On one occasion, about the middle of March, three trawlers fishing in the North Sea (the "Castor," "Queen," and "Montana") were attacked by three Heinkel bombers. One aircraft dropped a bomb near the "Queen" and then opened fire on the "Castor." The skipper of the "Castor," Mr. J. B. Davidson (who on his return to port, haltingly declared that no German raiders were going to prevent him fishing), manned the ship's gun, with the third hand to help with the loading and the mate at the wheel. When one of the raiders dived towards the "Castor," Mr. Davidson opened out, firing 80 rounds straight into the nose of the Heinkel, which finally made off. The attack lasted altogether 70 minutes, and Mr. Davidson replied to every burst of fire until his ammunition was gone.

Another trawler fishing off the Scottish coast on the night of March 20 hailed the best of a fight with a Nazi bomber, which, when last seen by one of the crew, was struggling to rise from about 30 feet above the sea. Ten fishermen described how in the distance they had heard gunfire and explosions, and then suddenly three German aircraft had appeared, one of which left the formation and swooped to attack them. The German bomber circled six times and dropped six bombs, all of which missed. It then proceeded to machine-gun the vessel, but the trawler's gun replied, hitting the enemy bomber, which then made off, gradually losing height. Towards the end of March the

David M.," a motor coaster of 320 tons, was attacked by torpedoes dropped from aircraft.

This comparatively new form of weapon was quite unsuccessful on this occasion. Captain Dawson of the "David M." described how he saw a torpedo fall from one of three German aircraft, flying low in the vicinity, and watched its track as it passed between his boat and another coaster, the "Charles." It hit the shore and exploded. Another aircraft dropped its torpedoes. Captain Dawson judged its direction and speed, swung his helm over, and dodged it. In all, three torpedoes were dropped without doing any damage; and when the skipper brought his machine-gun into play he got many shots through the fuselage of one aeroplane, and eventually the three Nazi raiders flew off.

British Rescue Dutch Seamen

Mr. Churchill, in his broadcast speech of March 9th, 1940, referred to "eight evacuated Dutchmen rescued after six days' exposure in an open boat by a British submarine." The Dutch vessel under question, which was bombed and machine-gunned by the Nazis, was the fishing boat 'Prinses,' and above one of the crew is being carried ashore from the British submarine 'Unity.'

Photo, Topical
On Saturday, March 30, the First Lord of the Admiralty made a broadcast speech on the progress of the war. Addressed more particularly to the neutral nations, it forecasted an intensification of the struggle. Not especially concerned with events at sea.

Mr. Churchill said, however, that in one or two instances to the heavy price the smaller nations were already paying for their one-sided neutrality. During the last fortnight of March, he said, fourteen neutral ships had been sunk and only one British ship. In all, nearly 200 neutral ships had been destroyed, and nearly 1,000 neutral seamen had been slaughtered. The First Lord recalled how, the day before, while sailors from a British submarine were carrying ashore on stretchers eight wounded Dutchmen whom they rescued after six days' exposure in an open boat, Dutch airmen, in the name of impartial orthodoxy, were shooting down a British aircraft which had lost its way.

The Dutch fishermen in question belonged to the unarmed trawler "Proteus" (202 tons), which, with a crew of twelve, had left Ymuiden on March 16 for its fishing grounds. One of the survivors described how their signals were answered by German aircraft with a shower of bombs, one of which struck the bridge and killed the skipper and mate. "As we made for our boat," he continued, "the Nazi dive-bomber machine-gunned us, but no one was hit. The lifeboat was not provisioned and the drinking water was found to be salty." In this craft, without food or water, these wretched men drifted for days. On Easter Monday the British submarine "Unity" sighted them and, keeping in touch all day, rescued them when night fell.

A rescue of a different kind, but none the less dramatic, was that of the captain of the British ship "Barnhill" (5,439 tons), who was wounded when a German bomb struck his ship in the English Channel. Four of the crew were killed, and Captain O'Neill suffered fractured ribs, a fractured arm and injuries to his left shoulder. In this parlous state he found, when the crew left the steamer, that he had been overlooked. He managed to roll his way along the deck of his burning ship until he reached the forecastle head.

With a tremendous effort he succeeded in gripping the rope of the ship's bell with his teeth and set it ringing. He held it heard shouts from a tug which was standing by, but this could not get alongside because of the fire, and Captain O'Neill was eventually rescued by a lifeboat.

A final word should be said about the return to home waters of the aircraft carrier "Ark Royal." For month after month the Germans declared that this ship was at the bottom of the sea. When the "Ark Royal" reached Portsmouth during March, Vice-Admiral Wells, commanding Aircraft Carriers, said that the German dropped fewer bombs and the biggest, one of about 1,000 lb, came near enough to make the enemy believe they were successful.

The Commander of the "Ark Royal," Captain A. J. Power, described how the ship had been in other incidents. On one occasion an enemy submarine discharged two torpedoes at her. The marksmen had underestimated the speed of the aircraft carrier, and missed by about 100 yards. "They were not," added Captain Power, "the destroyer screen, regarding this as an unfriendly act, sank the U-boat."
FRANCE AWAITS THE ONSLAUGHT: PREPARATIONS IN THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF 1940

Speed-up in French Aircraft Production—Heavy Artillery—The Technique of Reconnaissance Along the Maginot Line—Drastic Economic Decrees—Political Unrest—Secret Sessions Again—Fall of Daladier's Government—Reynaud as Premier—War Aims Declared—Men and Machines

The policy of the Allies on the Western Front had clearly emerged by the end of 1939 as one of waiting and watching for a German onslaught, while continuing to build up reserves of military and air power. The protracted resistance of Finland to Russia's furious attack upon her independence contributed to the uncertainties of German strategy for the time being, because there remained a possibility of the Allies being able to send effective reinforcements to the gallant little Finnish army before the spring, and this would have been an eventual threat to Germany's northern front, the western Baltic. Besides these strategical considerations the abnormal severe winter weather of January and February, 1940, imposed a further degree of inactivity on the Western Front. Even aerial reconnaissance, as well as the operations of ground patrols, had to be reduced to a minimum on both sides.

During this prolonged lull before the storm of war the French troops were strengthening their positions in front of the Maginot Line and developing a technique of reconnaissance. The French Navy continued its effective collaboration with the British to maintain and tighten the blockade, greatly assisted by its own air arm. The French air force kept constant watch above the enemy's front, and when contact with German machines was made it was usually the enemy who suffered loss, or else he kept well behind his own lines. Inside France virtually the entire civilian population was now mobilized for war, with the most satisfactory consequences for the production of equipment and armaments.

Comparatively little was published as to this last aspect, but it became known that the French genius for war was already evolving new machines. By the spring, for instance, the French aircraft industry had begun to turn out pursuit planes faster than the much boasted Messerschmitt 110, and the Air Ministry announced that mass production to the maximum need would be attained by the early summer of 1940. Chief among these new craft was a small and improved Morane single-seater, multi-gun fighter, and its evolution typified the rapid development of both the British and French aircraft industries after the Munich crisis of 1938. This development had reduced the handicap of the Allies as compared with the Luftwaffe by the beginning of 1940, and to some extent had cancelled the German's former superiority, though their rate of production was said still to exceed that of the Allies. Here, however, the factor of American supplies counted.

Although the deliveries of complete machines from the United States had as yet not been on a large scale, it was known that France had greatly speeded up her output of new planes by fitting aircraft with American engines. This applied in the most important degree to new French bombers.

A characteristic development in the French artillery was noted in February by Richard Capel, "Daily Telegraph" War Correspondent, as he watched the great guns tractors taking up temporary positions. The French had organized "nomad" batteries which could go at surprising speed across any sort of country, to take up a new station and open fire upon an enemy artillery position. After a swift bombardment they moved away, so that the German guns had no fixed position to shell.

"The whole performance is a wonder of expeditiousness," wrote Mr. Capel. "Within a few minutes of the arrival all is ready. Then the earth seems to shake as the mortars discharge their first shell. Within a quarter of an hour there have been changes in the landscape somewhere in Germany. It is time to pack up and go. Never was camp broken up more swiftly. The tractors make off, and it is fantastic to see the pace of the large things. The scene of action has hardly ceased echoing, and traces in the snow are the only signs to us that the landscape has to show."

Also waiting behind the lines for their day to come were the new "moving fortresses." 70-ton tanks carrying six machine-guns and a French 75 mm. gun placed low between the tracks in

WAR POSTERS OF FRANCE

The French poster on the left reads: "With your old iron we will surge the steel of victory," and was issued by the Ministry of Munitions. On the right is an anti-gas poster, showing a German eagle on the telephone wires, with the warning "Take care! He is listening!" It is interesting to compare this with similar British exhortations illustrated on page 326.

Photos, Wide World, Agency Triumph

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and local, the frequency of these patrol operations in front of the main lines made up considerable amount of specialized activity, in which the French soon began to acquire a characteristic technique to meet German cunning.

The activity of the reconnaissance units in front never entirely ceased, even in the severest weather; just as behind the lines the movements of guns, the varied work of supply, the organizing of victualing centres and big cattle parks, and the constant movements of troops continued without a pause. In the open country adjoining No-man's-land a peculiar guerrilla warfare was going on all the time, both sides ever alert for a surprise. An example of the French methods was afforded by the reaction to the innumerable tricks of the Germans with land-mines. Every French reconnaissance unit included one or two men who had developed an intuitive sense of danger in the presence of mines; their special flair in the search for these deadly traps resembled the good journalist's 'nose for news.'

In the words of a French sergeant, quoted by Alexandre Aronoux in "La Revue de Paris" (December, 1939):

"Marnay can smell the things. You see that green house over there, on the edge of the stream? I was just going to step on the door mat when Marnay caught me by the shoulders and stopped me. I would have been a 'gone' otherwise. We investigated, and there was the fuse, sure enough. I told you, he smells them. We have to keep an eye on them. The doorbell trick is an old one; we are not caught by that one any more. But we have to look out for the bell rope in the church, the canary's cage, the false corpse, and the watch chain. Naturally we give as good as we get."

"I found myself alone with my men. Unfortunately, I had no automatic weapon, my automatic rifle having been damaged. I shot him for one, but it was a long time coming. In the distance I could see Germans approaching. They drew level with a red house with a tiled roof. I counted them: 1,500 metres. I fired. I saw the smoke. I thought, I shall know if I have got the right target. The flash flew off. Good. So I ordered my men to fire at once with a slight lag between each man, so as to imitate machine-gun fire. Ta-ta-ta it went. A real fine little brood-class imitation.

"You remember I was telling you of the night we fell back. Well, as dawn I sent liaison men to right and left. They came back. No lieutenant on the left, not a soul on the right. I realized we were in the air, and probably surrounded. We crept along in single files. We caught sight of four Germans and carefully avoided them. Suddenly we found a whole band of 'Pridolls' in front of us, with rifles slung over their shoulders, little dreaming that they had left Frenchmen in their rear. Gently and silently we wrestled our way towards them and when about ten yards off we dropped their weapons and several men at almost point-blank range."
WAR INDUSTRY IN FRANCE

The top photograph shows 100-lb. bombs being painted, dried and packed before delivery to the French Armée de l’Air.

Above, a stage in the manufacture of aircrews and boxes; centre left, completed aircrews; left, an underground aircraft factory in France, constructed sixty feet deep beneath the countryside.

Our photograph shows the system of air conduits installed all along the halls.

Photos, Planet News; Sport et Géopolitique
French women at war work

French women played a great part in the nation's war effort. Top left, a store of gas masks, which French girls turned out at the rate of 150,000 per month; top right, a Frenchwoman working on the front. Their fathers, brothers, and husbands having been mobilized, the women of France took their place in the fields. Right, a training establishment for armament workers. Most of these girls were formerly in the military business, hence the flowers on the work-bench.

*Photo* F.N.A. - *World* World

We took advantage of their surplus, and made for our lines. We could not find the gap in the wire at first, so it had been filled in with fresh rolls of barbed wire. At last we made a clearing, but we lost valuable time, and the Fritz's were on us again. I had three pals wounded, three pals whom I was forced to leave there if I were not to sacrifice the whole group. It nearly broke my heart.

"Anyway, we finally got clear. Our machine-guns had started up, and as it was difficult for our men to distinguish us from the Germans I stuck a handkerchief on the end of my rifle and shouted. Then, between two bursts of fire, we crept in."

The insolvency and industry of the French troops at the front were reflected in the energetic calmness of the French population, working as if the country had become an enormous factory and farm. On the last day of February, 1940, the French Government announced a series of economic decrees that covered many phases of the national effort. It involved a unified control of the war supplies, of agriculture, and of all economic and financial organizations. The gold reserve of the Bank of France, totalling £553,000,000 a week earlier, was to be revalued to bring it into line with the value of the franc against dollars and pounds.

The beginnings of direct price control were indicated, with also the promise of the issue of bread cards in the near future. By way of economizing in wheat flour, it was to be mixed with a proportion of bean flour. Bakers and pastrycooks had new regulations to observe, and the pastrycook shops were to be closed two days every week.
On one day each week no alcoholic drinks were to be served, and petrol consumption for civilian purposes was to be further restricted. Certain credits were promised for agriculture, now brought under more direct Government control; and the farmers and farmworkers now requisitioned by the Government totalled some 15,000,000.

One of the new decrees forbade the engagement of any more agricultural workers in new factories, for France's agricultural production remained the backbone of her strength. In the essential industries capital and labour were working together under the Government night and day in unceasing shifts, and the worker was putting in 60 to 70 hours a week. An immense recruitment of women to industry had taken place.

It was estimated in January, 1940, that the output of munitions already amounted to more than twenty times the peak French production during the previous Great War, when France at the beginning lost many of her blast furnaces and mines. Ever since the beginning of the war the French A.R.P. for civilians had been imposed less severely than that of Britain, although the degree of danger from enemy raids upon the towns was probably much greater. Paris had recovered from the initial check to unwarlike activities, in spite of the gaps in personnel. Her cafés, even after gaining an hours' extension of time, had to close at midnight; taxis remained scarce, the Metro closed.

FRENCH HEAVY ARTILLERY

The photographs in this page show typical heavy guns that were standard in the French army. Top left, a 155-mm. gun during battery exercises; top right, a French heavy gun on a special form of tractor mounting with caterpillar treads which was intended for use against tanks; in the lower photo a 320-mm. howitzer on rail mounting has just fired. In English measurement 155 mm. corresponds to just over 6 in., and 320 mm. to 12 2/3 in. calibre.

Photo: Planet News; Courtesy of French Commissariat-General of Information
Nevile Henderson and the texts of the British diplomatic documents was confirmed and in some respects amplified by the French Yellow Book, which attracted attention all over the world and soon drew an official German reply.

The Nazi answer set out to prove that after the Munich conference the secret sessions of Chamber of Deputies. None held since November, 1917, when Clemenceau's opposition had put an end to them. The fourth of such secret sessions in three days was held on February 12, 1940, and at this the Chamber recorded a unanimous vote of confidence in M. Daladier. Moreover, the vote of confidence was signed by the thirteen parliamentary groups in the French Chamber.

French domestic politics held in store another of those sudden changes which surprises foreigners. Notwithstanding the clarity of policy and the unity of national feeling on the main issue of the war, there was a good deal of questioning and political feeling—partly inspired by economic difficulties, and partly by a sense of national powerlessness.

The economic situation was serious. The working classes were taxed at 40 per cent, the Government on 30 per cent, pay, in spite of the very fine response of French labour to the national need for faster production. The new economic and financial measures were need by the French Ministerial Council on February 29, 1940. M. Reynaud, then Finance Minister, took the opportunity to stress the necessity of heavy sacrifices, especially by increasing production and reducing exports and consumption. The position of the French Treasury was unsatisfactory, however, although the war was costing France about 4,000,000 a day, and M. Reynaud stated that in the preceding January the ordinary tax revenue and the subscriptions to the armaments bonds had been sufficient to cover all the expenditure, both civil and military.

The political parties were still at variance, and the Daladier-Government decided to seek another vote of confidence. After an all-night secret sitting the Chamber on March 20 passed a motion of confidence by 289 to 1. This apparently very favourable result was negated by the extraordinary total of 200 abstentions, with the consequence that the Government resigned. After Daladier had declined President

SEA MONSTERS ROBBED OF THEIR FANGS

The Nazi mines seen above were washed up on the French coast. After having been rendered harmless by French naval experts they were towed away and were doubtless put to other uses—possibly transformed into munitions and returned to Germany in that shape.

Photo, Topical
Lebrun's invitation to form a new Government, M. Reynaud, following a series of private conferences, accepted the task and formed a Government with a wider basis of representation, including the important Socialist element.

The new Prime Minister was successful in retaining the services of Daladier as War Minister, a post the late Premier had occupied for nearly four years, having also been Prime Minister for the two years before his resignation. One virtue of Reynaud, besides his energy, was his plain-spoken insistence on essentials, and despite the dislike of other French parties he obtained the inclusion of Socialists in the Cabinet. After the first debate there was a majority of only 112 for Reynaud's Government, with 110 abstentions. It was evident by the severe Press criticism of the vote that the public had no sympathy with the squabbles of the Chamber of Deputies, and though the position of the new Government seemed a little precarious, the country was behind Reynaud's policy. In his first broadcast speech as Prime Minister, on March 25, Reynaud declared: "One single idea guided me; what Ministerial formation would give to the Government the greatest strength to act."

On March 28, 1940, the sixth meeting of the Supreme War Council of the Allies since the war began was attended in London by the new French Premier, accompanied by General Gamelin. The Council issued the "solemn declaration" that:

"the Government of the French Republic and H.M. Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland mutually undertake that during the present war they will neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement. They undertake not to discuss peace terms before reaching complete agreement on the conditions necessary to assure to each of them an effective and lasting guarantee of their security. Finally, they undertake to maintain, after the conclusion of peace, a community of action in all spheres for so long as may be necessary to safeguard their security and to effect the reconstruction, with the assistance of other nations, of an international order which will assure the liberty of peoples, respect for law, and the maintenance of peace in Europe."

This announcement, apparently bearing so little upon immediate problems, was criticized at the time as being apt to encourage a belief that the Allies might listen to renewed peace talk, especially as it followed on the tour of Europe by Mr. Sumner Welles, President Roosevelt's political scout. Actually in the long run the joint declaration laid a firm basis of confidence to withstand the possible influence of continued German propaganda, and it was a significant completion of the first authoritative reference to war aims that had been made on December 29, 1939, by the French Government, through M. Daladier. The latter had then referred cautiously to the future possibilities of the impressive economic collaboration being organized between France and Britain. He had also stated that this collaboration was open to all nations who desired to take part in it, and his invitation to the semi-autocratic Powers to join such a union had attracted some attention. And then, on January 11, in his Presidential address to the Chamber, M. Herriot said in memorable words:

"The presence beside our soldiers and their leaders of British troops, the constant support of Great Britain and the Dominions, are the substantial signs of a solidarity which by well-conceived formulas will house powers beyond our own country and will furnish the first example for times of peace. Two immense Empires have pooled their resources in the service of the same ideals. It is no longer two nations fighting side by side, but the immense Empire of Liberty struggling against the bow of tyranny."
CABINET OF M. PAUL REYNAUD IN MARCH, 1940


The inauguration of the Reynaud Government was accompanied by an important diplomatic step in time with a similar action by the British Government. M. Reynaud summoned to Paris at the end of March several of France’s chief ambassadors. M. François-Poncet, Ambassador in Rome, had already arrived, and it had been assumed that M. Reynaud especially desired a better understanding with Italy. A certain political complication resulted from the fact that this aim received its main support from the Right Wing politicians, who had also been demanding a rupture of relations with Soviet Russia. But Reynaud said nothing to indicate any disagreement with the British policy of avoiding hostilities with Russia, an attitude which Lord Halifax had clearly defined in the House of Lords on March 19.

The new French Government’s diplomatic concordance with that of the British was made clear by this recall of certain ambassadors, which was announced on the same day (March 29) that Lord Halifax invited all the British envoys in south-east Europe to return to Britain for conference. The Allies had thereby made a diplomatic riposte to the shrewd, but sterile, meeting of Mussolini and Hitler at the Brenner Pass. They also thus revealed their intention to meet the renewed German economic and diplomatic offensive under Dr. Céline which was then proceeding in the Balkans.

Finally, it should not be forgotten, among so many diverse developments of French power, that her military resources in men by the spring of 1940 were formidable, even without her Colonial troops. The French army, containing 6,500,000 men, was well trained, though it had had little to do since the outbreak of war. It was stated that the German Command would call up 2,500,000 more men in the following summer, which would then give the German army a total of about 7,500,000. But at least 1,000,000 German soldiers were bound to be held in the east of Germany, to garrison the countries she had brutally overrun and to watch the east and south-east frontiers. The British army was capable of being expanded to at least 3,000,000 by the end of 1940.

The crucial test was likely to be in the realm of machines, for Germany’s campaigns in Czechoslovakia and Poland had opened the eyes of the world to new tactics made possible by intense mechanization of the armed forces. Certain strategic possibilities followed naturally from these tactical innovations, and the success of the Allies in resisting the Blitzkrieg, when in fact it should materialize, might depend on how far their commanders had appreciated and applied the lessons to be learned from past encounters with the Nazis.
Chapter 73
TOTALITARIAN WAR ON BRITISH AND NEUTRAL SHIPPING

Nine Months of War Reviewed—Britain's Merchant Tonnage Increased—
Safety in British Convoys—How a Convoy Eluded the Nazis in Norwegian
Waters—U-Boats in the Atlantic—Mediterranean Ban on American Shipping
—Sinking of the 'Ville de Bruges.'—Merchant Ships in the Dunkirk Epic

At the beginning of the war the Nazis made a determined effort
to undermine the strength of
British sea power by a fierce attack on
British merchant shipping. The counter-
measures adopted by the Royal Navy
against U-boats as well as magnetic
mines soon stopped this direct attack,
and when the convoy system came into
full operation the losses suffered by
convoyed vessels became extremely
rare. From about November, 1939,
however, the unrestricted laying of
powerful mines took toll of
neutral as much as of Allied
shipping.

By the early part of 1940 it seemed that the Nazi
High Command was attacking
unprotected neutral shipping in preference to
belligerent merchantmen,
and was trying to justify
this new form of terrorism
by saying that every ship
on the seas must be in the
service of the Allies. It
was, in fact, a direct
admission of the supremacy of the
Allies at sea.

Comparative monthly
figures of British and neutral
losses in the war at sea give a clue to the
methods adopted by the
Germans. In the first
three months British losses fell from 155,000 tons gross
to about 75,000, while
neutral losses in the same
period rose from 25,000
tons to nearly 100,000.
British losses fell because of
the inefficacy of the convoy
system, and neutral
losses rose because of the
magnetic mine campaign.
In December, 1939 and
January, 1940 came the
first intensive air attacks on
shipping in the North
Sea. Neutral losses rose
to about 110,000 tons a
month and British losses
were about the same. In
March, 1940, there was a
notable drop in the number of both
Allied and neutral sinkings, and this
must in some measure be attributed
to the preparations that were going
on in Germany for the Blitzkrieg in the
West, which opened by the invasion
of Denmark and Norway in April.
As a result of the attack on Norway,
about forty merchant ships, mainly
British, Norwegian and Swedish, were
destroyed at Narvik. The British
ships alone totalled over 40,000 tons
gross. By the middle of June the only
European maritime powers which were
still neutral were Sweden and Greece,
both countries almost entirely surrounded
by belligerents.

The merchant fleets of Holland,
Belgium and Norway escaped almost
intact, and immediately became fully
available to the Allies. Danish ships
became technically enemies and subject
to process in the Prize Court, but at
least 150 of them submitted voluntarily
to capture and were pressed into Allied
service with their own crews and masters.

At the end of nine months
of warfare at sea the total
Allied losses, including
naval auxiliaries such as
merchant vessels converted
for war purposes into
armed auxiliary cruisers,
and transports, hospital
ships, minelayers, etc.,
amounted to just over
1,000,000 tons gross. The
neutral losses in the same
period amounted to over
half that total. The chief
neutral sufferers were
Norway, Sweden, Holland,
Greece and Denmark (in
that order).

The German shipping
losses require special attention.

In nine months of war
the Nazi losses approximate
to the British losses, which is a remarkable
illustration of the strength
and use of sea power.
British ships had been
sailing without interference
over all the seas of the
world ever since hostilities
began. German ships on
the high seas were immedi-
ately captured, or were
scuttled by their crews on
interception, or else were
bottled up in neutral ports,
removing a constant drain
upon the foreign currency
resources of the Reich
because of the cost of
their upkeep. German ship-
ing, after the first weeks
COAL FOR ITALY'S EMPTY BUNKERS

The Chamberlain government, true to its policy of 'appeasement,' attempted to alleviate Italy's coal shortage by releasing from the Export Control in March, 1940, thirteen Italian ships laden with German coal which had been stopped by the British Navy. One vessel is seen above at the Dover Contraband Control Base.

The war, was free to sail only on the Baltic and in the territorial waters of Scandinavia. It did not present itself to attack as did British shipping. The invasion of Norway, however, gave the Royal Navy the opportunity for which it had been waiting. Dozens of ships were sunk, or scuttled themselves. Transports, supply ships, tankers and all the iron ore vessels that ventured forth were sunk outright by submarines and by surface vessels. The invasion of Holland, too, delivered into the hands of the Allies many more enemy vessels, including more than 144,000 tons of German liners which had been sitting in port in Netherland, East and West Indian ports.

Every German ship captured by the Allies offered the sinking of a British vessel. In all 48 ships of 359,132 tons gross were captured by the Allied Navies by the end of May, 1940. Some time of course, elapses between the capture of an enemy merchantman and her appearance in service under the Allied flag, because in many cases such ships had to be refitted, and in many cases the standard of accommodation for the crews provided by their former owners cannot be equalled below the British standard and had to be improved before the ships could be used. Before very long, however, they appeared on the high seas again as British or French vessels, bearing the new names bestowed upon them.

The total British losses at the end of May represented about one cent of the British merchant tonnage at the outbreak of war. This deficit had already been made good by means of new construction, captures and purchases. "The shipyards of the United Kingdom had been operating at full pressure ever since the beginning of the war, despite the difficulties engendered by working in the black-out and by the shortage of skilled labor — a direct result of the depression through which the shipbuilders had been living in the immediate pre-war years. Numerous cargo vessels were bought by British owners from neutral countries all through the year 1940, mainly from the United States. Tonnage captured from the enemy amounted to nearly one-quarter of the Allied losses. So the Allies found that in June, 1940, they had more tonnage at their disposal than at the beginning of the war, apart from the acquisition of nearly all the Norwegian, Danish, Dutch and Belgian tonnage when these countries were invaded."

As the number of neutral countries diminished, so naturally the number of neutral losses decreased. Furthermore, when neutral ships became Allied ships their losses decreased again, for they immediately came under the protection of the Royal Navy and the Coastal Command of the Royal Air Force in convoy.

At the end of June, 25,000 Allied ships had been escorted in convoy, with the loss of only 32 vessels, a proportion of about 1 in 718. The confidence of neutrals in the British convoy system was not lessened by Nazi threats that it was not neutral, but on April 9, for instance, when the Germans took Norway by surprise, there was a convoy of 6 British and 31 neutral ships in a fjord not far from Bergen. Captain Pinkney, master of the "Flyngdale," was in command, and his duty was in the tribunal of events to take his convoy to the place appointed for meeting the. Against this escort, the German tanker "Skagerrak," her decks lined with troops, appeared in the fjord, but fled at the sight of the British ships, later to scuttle herself. That was the first indication that Captain Pinkney had

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<td>Empire Commerce</td>
<td>Christopher von Dannen</td>
<td>3,267</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Conveyor</td>
<td>Gloria</td>
<td>5,011</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Crusader</td>
<td>Lander</td>
<td>1,042</td>
<td>1932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Industry</td>
<td>Hennings Olenhoff</td>
<td>3,713</td>
<td>1918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Merchant</td>
<td>Rheingold</td>
<td>5,033</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Scout</td>
<td>Emissary</td>
<td>4,864</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Soldier</td>
<td>Killock</td>
<td>2,182</td>
<td>1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Unity</td>
<td>Kaimal Rowek</td>
<td>4,538</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Volunteer</td>
<td>Biskaya (tanker)</td>
<td>6,889</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Ability</td>
<td>Bismarck</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Citizen</td>
<td>Chevaliers</td>
<td>7,093</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Condor</td>
<td>Weihau</td>
<td>4,709</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Continual</td>
<td>Dusseldorf</td>
<td>4,909</td>
<td>1923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Success</td>
<td>Phaeton</td>
<td>5,088</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Prize</td>
<td>Hagan</td>
<td>5,088</td>
<td>1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Andre</td>
<td>4,087</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Bertrand</td>
<td>3,292</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Louis</td>
<td>6,192</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Maurice</td>
<td>2,542</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other Prize ships have not yet received new names.

742
NAZIS MOCK AT NEUTRALITY

Above, the Norwegian steamer "Svenita" on fire after a German bombing attack in April, 1940; right, the Greek steamer "Kosti" sinking fast after striking a German mine near Falsterbo, Sweden, in December, 1939; below, a woman from the Belgian ship "Louise Shield" being rescued by breeches buoy after the vessel had run aground. She was carrying the rescued crew of the torpedoed Dutch vessel "Tjolondo," sunk on December 7, 1939.

Photo: Central Press; Keystone
of his predicament. Immediately afterwards he received a radio message instructing all British ships to leave Norway. He flew the signal for departure, and every neutral ship followed him, despite the knowledge that they might be just as likely to fall in with enemy ships as with the friendly ships of the escort. Their confidence was rewarded, however, for in the course of the British warships took over the convoy and escorted them safely home.

At the beginning of May Germany announced that she was renewing her submarine campaign, and to that end U-boats were sent out into the Atlantic to operate mainly on the trade routes off the coasts of Spain and Portugal. When Italy entered the war, on June 10, it became clear what had been the reason for this disposition. However, the Nazis issued a special warning to neutral shipping not to accept the protection of British convoys. On the very same day a neutral ship, bound from a neutral country to another neutral port and sailing unescorted, was torpedoed by a German submarine.

MISSILES THAT MISSED THEIR MARK

Huge fountains of water were sent up into the air when Nazi bombs fell near ships of an Allied convoy off the Flandres banks (the range of sandbanks along the coast from Gris Nez to the Dutch frontier). But most of the ships in the convoy was damaged.

Photo, Service Cinématographique de la Marine

She was the Argentine steamer "Uruguay," bound from the Plate to Eire with a cargo of grain. She was the first Argentine vessel to be sunk in the war; as a result of this outrage a strong protest was sent to Berlin, and shortly afterwards Argentine shipping was barred from European waters.

World Shipping Losses in Nine Months of War (Sept., 1939—May, 1940)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Polish</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Allied</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>807,745</td>
<td>46,341</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>11,651</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>948,389</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>1,756,134</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destroyed</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>190,746</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunk by naval action</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>178,481</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moored</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21,235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captured</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>380,462</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional loss (estimated)</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>428</td>
<td>969,924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This step was in line with the U.S.A.'s measure to safeguard American neutrality. According to the Neutrality Act American shipping was prohibited from trading in any area prescribed by the President as a war zone. All ports from Spain to Bergen came under this ban, and American flag shipping was thus cut off from trading with Europe outside Spain and the Mediterranean. No fewer than 86 American liners and cargo vessels were affected by this rule, but they found employment in waters from which British shipping had been withdrawn. The United States Lines, a company whose main business was transatlantic, formed a Belgian company, who would operate some of their ships to the
Neutral Shipping Losses
September, 1939, to April, 1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flag</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Tons gross</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danish</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>70,229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>80,896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finnish</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8,188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>34,418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34,166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11,930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslav</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>116,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soviet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>908</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>54,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral losses in May</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>556,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>239</strong></td>
<td><strong>598,899</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table includes Norwegian and Danish losses up to April 9 and Dutch and Belgian losses up to May 28. 

BRITISH GUARDS WATCH NEUTRAL SHIPS

In order that unauthorized persons should not land in British ports, seamen were not allowed to leave foreign ships and armed guards were placed at gangways and landing stages. Above, the guard on duty is seen passing fishing craft at an East Coast port.

Photos, Topical

While previously the "President Harding," was bombed from the air and sunk off the Belgian coast on the first day of German-Belgian hostilities.

Despite the fact that throughout the war Italy had acted in the most friendly manner towards Germany and had been of the utmost assistance to her in overcoming the stringency of the Allied blockade, Italian ships had suffered in the same way as neutrals from the indiscriminate Nazi attacks. Although Italy was later to become an ally of Germany, this did not come about until after the Germans had sunk about 37,000 tons of Italian shipping, apart from machine-gunning and bombing various other vessels.

Although by the middle of May neutral ships were far to seek, the Germans seemed to find them. Swedish vessels were unable to move to or from their home ports, with few exceptions, because of dangerous minefields laid by both belligerents in the Kattegat, the Baltic and the Skagerrak. The brunt of the attack was borne by Greece, the most important remaining neutral shipping country, and several Greek ships were sunk in the Atlantic during the month.

British losses during April were heavier than had been general for many months, because about 42,000 tons had been caught by the Germans at Narvik and had been sunk. During May the losses were also rather heavy, mainly as a result of the operations at Dunkirk, where no fewer than 24,000 tons of merchant shipping met with disaster in the magnificent evacuation of the Allied troops from Flanders. Among the ships lost were many trawlers and a number of former pleasure steamers familiar to holiday-makers on the coasts of Great Britain; while the railway-owned cross-Channel steamers suffered some losses. Three of them—the “Paris,” “Maid of Kent” and “Brighton” were Southern Railway steamers in use as hospital ships. They were marked with the Red Cross in the recognized manner, but this served to attract rather than deter the Nazi bombers who were responsible for their sinking. The “Paris,” built in 1913, was a veteran: she had already seen four years of service in the war of 1914-18 as a minelayer, afterwards returning to the railway service.
The "Cease Fire" order in the Russo-Finnish war sounded at 11 a.m. on March 13, 1940, following the armistice, news of which was broadcast at same time to the Finnish people by the Foreign Minister. Below we give the principal terms of the treaty with the Soviet, as well as M. Tanne's broadcast, and the last Order of the Day issued by Field-Marshall Manneheim.

TEXT OF RUSSO-FINNISH PEACE TREATY SIGNED IN MOSCOW, MARCH 12, 1940:

I. Military operations between the Soviet Union and Finland are to cease immediately, according to a map attached herewith.

II. The State frontiers between the Soviet Union and Finland are to follow a new line by which the territory of the Soviet Union will include the whole of the Leningrad isemesi, the town of Vypolz, the bay of Vypolz, and the islands situated in the bay.

The Soviet Union will further include the territory north and west of Lake Ladoga with the towns of Kismarin, Sortavala and Suntajärvi, the territory north of Maatta Joki and Kuninga, a number of islands in the Gulf of Finland, and parts of the peninsula of Eiland and Seidi.

The exact delimitation of the new frontiers is to be effected by a commission of representatives of the two countries within ten days of the conclusion of the treaty.

III. The contracting parties undertake to refrain from acts of aggression against each other, and from concluding alliances or entering into coalitions directed against either party.

IV. The Finnish Republic agrees to grant, against annual payments of 8,000,000 Finnish marks a 30 years' lease of three islands, with an area of a square within a radius of five miles to the south and north and three miles to the west and north of Hangö, as well as a number of islands for the establishment of a naval base for the protection of the entrance to the Gulf of Finland against aggression.

V. The Soviet Union undertakes to withdraw its forces from Hangö within ten days of the conclusion of this treaty. The Hangö peninsula, with the adjoining islands, passes under Soviet administration.

VI. The Soviet Union undertakes to withdraw its forces from the Petsamo district, which was voluntarily ceded to Finland under the peace treaty of 1920. Finland agrees, as laid down by the peace treaty of 1920, not to keep in the waters of the Arctic Ocean naval and other vessels of a tonnage exceeding 100 tons each, regarding which Finland is not subjected to any restriction, and not to keep in the waters of the Arctic Ocean and other vessels of a tonnage not exceeding 400 tons each.

VII. The Finnish Government grants to the Soviet Union the right of transit through the Petsamo district to and from Norway, the Soviet Union having the right to establish a consulate at Petsamo.

VIII. Goods passing through the Petsamo district between the Soviet Union and Norway are exempt from inspection and examination other than that necessary for the regulation of the transit traffic. These goods are further exempt from duties and from transit duties. Examination of transit goods is to be effected according to the usual rules of international traffic.

IX. Soviet civil aircraft are entitled to establish air traffic across the Petsamo district between the Soviet Union and Norway.

X. The Finnish Government grants to the Soviet Union the right of transit through Hangö to and from Sweden. The development of this transit route shall be regulated by a memorandum agreed upon by both parties and signed by the two adjutants which for this purpose agree to enter into negotiations for the conclusion of a trade agreement.

XI. The treaty comes into force immediately after its signature and subject to ratification. The documents of ratification are to be exchanged in Moscow within ten days.

M. TANNE, FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER, IN A BROADCAST TO THE FINNISH PEOPLE, MARCH 15, 1940:

The demands go further than those presented in the autumn. Our delegations have fought to modify them, but unsuccessfully. As no proposals were to be found of obtaining better results by continuing the war, it seems wise to accept the peace terms rather than continue a hopeless struggle.

We were not the guilty ones. We trusted in treaties with our neighbour, but war came from Russia, and we were compelled to defend ourselves. We were not prepared because we had trusted in treaties. There was a lack of arms, of equipment, and of trained troops.

We had not obtained guarantees from other countries. During the war we received some help in the form of arms, money, and humanitarian aid.

Our army did well and fought with all its might, doing well beyond all expectations. But we were on the main frontier and were forced to withdraw a little. The home front was well stocked, in units of daily rations.

But we are only a small people. The same men had to fight twice, the time, and it is likely that they become tired. We had no reserves for them, except a few volunteers who were insufficient in numbers and in too late.

We asked for help from Sweden, who was in the best position to give help, but she did not find it possible to do so.

The neutrality policy did not permit, which rendered the position still more difficult for us.

Offers from Great Britain and France were good except on one weak point—how could help reach us? The Battle of Britain was closed, and Petsamo is far away, and besides it is held by the Russians. The Scandianvian countries had given a negative answer to the pleas of Finland and the Western Powers. Consequently, Finland had to state that this help could not be counted on.

This is a very hard peace. Yet the Government thought it better to make peace while the defense forces of the country were still unversed. But vital areas of our country are in control of the industrial enterprises have had to be sacrificed.

The peace was signed. We lost 150,000 acres of the Russian border, and the Soviet troops have to withdraw from Petsamo. The Swedish troops are still in Hangö.

VIII. The peace is a good one. It is a difficult peace. There are some hard terms, but the peace is necessary for the future.

We shall have to pay for our mistakes. We have to live with the peace terms, and we shall have to live and work.

We shall have to live with the peace terms, and we shall have to live and work. The peace is not perfect, but it is the best we can get.

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We shall have to live with the peace terms, and we shall have to live and work. The peace is not perfect, but it is the best we can get.
Chapter 74

THE FINNS MAKE PEACE: LAST FORTNIGHT OF AN HEROIC RESISTANCE

Final Struggle on Karelian Isthmus—Thirteen Days' Assault on Viipuri—Russian Oslaught Stymied—Finns Destroy the 34th Heavy Tank Brigade—Heavy Russian Air Attacks—Position at Malhia—Peace Proposals—
The Russian Terms—Signing of the Peace Treaty—Mannerheim's Last Order of the Day—Aftermath

(A Relief Map of the Battle Zones on the Karelian Isthmus is printed on page 380)

At the beginning of March, 1940, the Russo-Finnish war, in spite of the good morale of Finland's civil population and the determination of her soldiers, was entering on its final phase. Stalin's attempts to emulate the German invasions practised so successfully by Hitler in the Russian campaign had failed before the superior mobility and individual resource of the Finns. The final struggle became concentrated on the narrow Karelian Isthmus, where it assumed the character and intensity of the fighting on the Western Front during the First World War—but the advantages were chiefly with Russia.

Exhaustion of the defenders was Russia's aim, and the assaults which had begun against the Mannerheim defences with exceptional intensity in February were pressed relentlessly. Along the whole Isthmus, from Viipuri in the west to Taipale in the east, Finns estimated to number 120,000 men were attacked constantly by Red Army men, estimated at half a million, supported by all the heavy artillery, planes, and tanks which Russia's superior resources afforded. The Finns stood with their backs to the wall. The first zone of the Mannerheim defences in the west of the Isthmus had been pierced with the fall of Summa. Now they were in the second line. If the Russians should be able to break through this line, they would cut off the defenders of the kitterto impregnable positions in the east of the Isthmus, and the coast road and railway to Helsinki and southern Finland would be open to them.

The Russians already held almost the entire eastern shore of the Gulf of Viipuri. Throughout the last day of February, scores of Russian batteries bombarded the Finnish positions. Heavy guns of the Red Army continued to batter Viipuri until little was left of the town but smoking ruins. In the early hours of the next day Russian bombers flew over the town, completing the work of destruction, and machine-gunned the Finns behind their breastworks. Then followed a mass attack along the railway and the frozen shores of the Gulf of Viipuri, supported by bombers accompanied by fighting 'planes, tanks and parachute troops. Hand-to-hand fights raged for nearly twenty-four hours. Again and again Red Army men, fighting with great courage, sprang forward in an endeavour to silence Finnish machine-gun nests with hand grenades, but just as often the machine-guns spat out from the shell-torn ruins and fields of Viipuri's suburbs.

At the same time Finnish 'planes bombèd the ice on the Gulf and many Russian tanks sank with their crews; while Finnish fighters fought one of the biggest air battles of the war over Viipuri and claimed to have brought down fourteen Soviet machines. For thirteen consecutive days the Russians repeated their attacks on Viipuri. On March 3 they sent a regiment of skis-troops over the ice to try and attack the defenders in the rear, on the other side of the Gulf. Finnish observers gave the alarm and the regiment was destroyed by aerial bombs, artillery and machine-gun fire. Another regiment of Red Army men set out from the island of Hogland in the Gulf of Finland in an attempt to disorganize the defenders of Viipuri by an attack on Kotka. They met a similar fate. The Russians seized the island fortress of Trangesund in the Gulf of Viipuri, but were still unable to advance to Viipuri over the land bridge formed by the other islands in the Gulf. Thirty Russian tanks were put out of action in a single day on the Viipuri front. But if they were unable to capture Viipuri itself, the Russians, at the cost of enormous losses in men and material, were gradually able to consolidate their hold on the islands of the Gulf. On them they placed light and medium-heavy guns and could thus command the roads on the western shore.

Finnish airmen reaped a rich harvest throughout the operations, bombing and machine-gunning the close-packed Russian units, transport vehicles, tanks, troop columns and artillery batteries which were crowded on the islands and the ice. But the Finnish losses in

FINLAND FORCED TO SUBMIT

After an epic resistance, which raised the admiration of the whole world, the Finns were forced to make peace and hostilities ended on March 5, 1940. Above, M. Tanner, Finland's Foreign Minister, makes known the peace terms to a group of home and foreign journalists.
counter-attacks designed to drive the Russians from the islands were also heavy, and were the more serious in view of the numerical inferiority of the Finns. Nor could they withdraw men from the other sectors of the Isthmus front, which were being subjected to equally intense Russian attacks.

In February the Russians, by their advance beyond Sumna, had already completely turned the barrier represented by Lake Ayrapaan, twenty miles south-east of Viipuri. They now continued their attacks in this sector in an endeavour to pierce the Mannerheim defences east of Viipuri and to cross the Vuoksi River, on which those defences were based, at its narrowest point. Lake Ayrapaan became the Finnish "Verdun." "They shall not pass" was the spirited cry of the defenders, and for ten consecutive days the Finnish troops withstood attacks by tanks, aircraft and infantry, and delivered fierce counter-attacks, although outnumbered by six to one.

So great were the Russian losses that the invaders found it impossible to collect their wounded, which littered for hundreds of yards the frozen shores of the Lake. For all their great sacrifices, the capture of a few villages around the Lake was all that the Russians could claim even at the end of hostilities. Equally futile were their attempts against Taipale, at the eastern end of the Isthmus. Repeated attacks across the frozen river were smashed by Finnish artillery in the early stages, or the attackers were mown down by Finnish machine-guns when they crossed the ice.

Thus at great cost of lives and material the Finns stemmed the Russian advance on the Isthmus. On at least one other front they did not remain on the defensive. They scored a notable success against the 34th Heavy Tank Brigade, spearhead of the crack Russian troops destroyed by a Finnish division on the site of the ruined village of Lennett on the Uomas-Kieta road, north-east of Lake Ladoga. For four weeks, emulating their tactics against the Russian forces at Auskiai and Suomussalmi, Finnish patrols had been slowly encircling this brigade. Batteries of light artillery had been handed through the frozen forests to direct a devastating fire on the great armoured encampment of the Russians, extending for one and a half miles along the road. On the night of February 28 the Finns rushed the encampment. The bulk of the brigade personnel was destroyed, the troops being afraid to surrender. They were killed with grenades in dugouts which they defended to the last.

Among the fallen were the commander of the brigade, General Komdratjeff, a "hero of the Soviet Union," and General Komdratjeff, commander of the 18th Russian Infantry Division. General Komdratjeff had taken refuge in the encampment in a vain attempt to cut a way back eastwards when the 18th Jaroslav Infantry Division was destroyed at the beginning of February.

This final Finnish stroke in the sector fired the whole central front to the north-east of Lake Ladoga. The war booty captured was enormous. It included 166 tanks, 12 armoured cars, 6 guns, 5 four-barrelled anti-aircraft machine-guns, 200 motor lorries, 25 cars, 25 lorries of ammunition, more than 200 horse wagons, and 30 field kitchens. The 34th Russian Tank Brigade had been sent along the Uomas-Kieta Road to aid the 18th Division. But the tanks had no sooner made contact with the remains of the fugitive divisional staff when they themselves were surrounded. The bulk of the tank brigade then formed up around Lennett, which was surrounded by snow-covered fields, separating the village from the woods. Attempts were made to drive back the invisible Finns, but the Russians were fighting blind.

On February 22 the tank brigade ate its last cooked food, which consisted of horseflesh. The men had already begun to gnaw the bark of trees. After that a small piece of bread, described by a prisoner as "half the size of your fist," was issued daily. When supplies of that ended, rations and hard biscuit dropped from aircraft were issued.

Soviet Bombers' Final Fling

The destruction caused in Finnish towns and villages by the incessant raids of Soviet bombers has been vividly depicted in many photographs in this work. Below is a view wrought by an air raid carried out by Soviet aircraft early on March 12, 1940, on the very morning that hostilities were due to cease at 7 A.M.

Photo, Associated Press
SAVED FROM THEIR BLAZING SHIP

This dramatic photograph shows survivors rowing away from the blazing liner 'Ville de Bruges' after it had been bombed by German aircraft off Ostend on May 10. The 'Ville de Bruges' was formerly known as the 'President Harding' and belonged to the United States Lines. This company, owing to the fact that the Neutrality Act American shipping was prohibited from trading in the war zone, formed a Belgian company to operate some of its ships, among which the renamed 'Ville de Bruges' was one.
THE STRUGGLE ENDED, THE GALLANT FINNISH

On March 14, 1939, the bitter and unequal struggle between Finland and the Soviet Union came to an end. The small Finnish Army could no longer withstand the almost unlimited superiority of the Soviet Union, and Finland was compelled to submit to the Russian terms, but not until

Forces withdraw from ceded territory

She took from the world what a small but resolute nation could accomplish in defence of her homeland. Above, part of the Finnish army in rear withdrawing from territory to the

Karelian fathers exiled to Russia by the peace treaty of March 23.
THEY SERVED THEIR COUNTRY WELL

This photograph was taken near Viipuri, one of the main centres of Finnish resistance, where heavy fighting took place. It shows Finnish soldiers examining a map after hearing the Russian peace terms, announced on March 13. For them the war was over; they had played their part honourably and well.

Photo, Keystone
During the final week hunger and the extreme cold put an end to the troops' real resistance. Most of the Russians fought on to the last, and according to a Finnish staff officer the men, remained obstinately in their dug-outs until hand grenades, singly or in bundles, had cleared one hole after another. Such achievements as these on the part of the Finnish commanders and soldiers emphasized all the more the unequal nature of the struggle with the Soviet. Outside help for Finland had not yet materialized to any substantial degree, though in Britain the demand was by now becoming clamorous.

The Russians accompanied their attacks on Finnish positions on the isthmus and north-east of Ladoga with a continuance of devastating air raids. But now the Finns were receiving American, French, Italian, and Swedish planes from abroad, and the raiders did not escape unscathed. Nor did the Finns confine their activities to defence. During the week-end of March 3, 28 Soviet aeroplanes were brought down, while Finnish planes bombarded enemy troops and supply columns and the railways between Leningrad and the isthmus.

These Soviet losses were in addition to the 251 aircraft that were shot down by Finnish airmen in February, announced in an official Finnish survey of the war. Altogether, it was claimed, the Russians had lost since the beginning of the war 538 aeroplanes, with double or treble that number of airmen. In the same period 563 civilians were said to have been killed and 1,289 injured through Russian bombs.

One of the worst Russian raids was carried out on March 6, when Soviet aircraft bombed Lachti, Mikkel and Knopio. A correspondent described the raid as follows:

"At 11.45 a.m. twelve Russian bombers came over us flying high and bombed a road leading into the east side of the town. At 11.50 eighteen Russian bombers flying at the same height bombèd roads and the centre of the town. Shortly after noon a third relay of bombers came over the west side of the town at altitudes of 2,000 or 3,000 feet only. They hit the hospital with its large Red Cross flag, scored a direct hit with explosive bombs and incendiary bombs on the county school, a direct hit on a shelter and houses around it, and drove a lane of destruction about 500 yards wide across the town. The hospital was hit six times and burst into flames. I afterwards saw a number of terrified women with their faces smeared with blood, their clothes torn and their appearance dashed and wild. I saw one fall and cry: 'Let me die.' Two women had had their legs cut off when the roof of their house was blown in."

Russian air attacks had not greatly disrupted Finland's communications, probably because roads and railways are difficult to put out of action permanently by bombing. Although Russian aircraft numbering between 500 and 800 had been over Finland every day since the war began, the Finnish roads at the end of three and a half months of warfare were still intact, and on the railways the trains were still running, although with great delays. One correspondent reported that he had not seen a single bridge hit by a bomb. The Russian lack of success in this respect was due largely to the speedy repair work of the Finns who organized fast working and patrols to repair damage as soon as it was done. The ice also helped to minimize damage to the roads, as much being...
WHAT FINLAND CEDED TO RUSSIA

This map shows the chief results of Finland's peace with Russia after an heroic resistance whose value was an inspiration to all free peoples. The text of the peace treaty is printed in page 726.

Courtesy of "The Times"

as were made by Russian bombs could be speedily filled with frozen snow. Damage to property, on the other hand, was extensive, and was said to exceed anything witnessed in Spain during two years of civil war. The towns of Viipuri and Sortavala were almost destroyed.

The position of the Finnish forces during the first weeks of March was rapidly growing more desperate. Taking the communiques of the Finnish High Command at their face value, the Finns seemed to be holding their own in spite of the enormous material and human resources of the Russians. Yet throughout the last days of this bitter and unequal struggle the air was filled with persistent rumours of Finnish losses far in excess of those officially announced. On March 5 a leading

article in "The Times" called for aid to prevent the defeat of Finland, ending with the words: "The whole sentiment of this country demands that Finland should not be allowed to fall."

Soon after there were reports of impending peace negotiations. Statements in Swedish newspapers gave the original foundation to reports of a coming peace, but the early stages of the negotiations were wrapped in secrecy. The first official statement was made in Helsinki on March 7 as follows:

"According to information in the possession of the Swedish Government, the Soviet Government is believed to have planned the presentation of demands to Finland more far-reaching in character than those presented last autumn. Details of these demands are not far lacking."

There began at the same time in the Swedish Press a series of apparently inspired articles in which Finland was assured that Moscow had no plans to subdue her, and that Russian demands for the lease of the port of Hanö could be the only stumbling block in the way of a negotiated peace. Swedish Government circles continued to deny that Sweden was trying to mediate between Finland and Russia, and emphasized that Sweden's role was solely that of "letter box."

News of "far-reaching Russian demands" on Finland was received by the people of Helsinki with stupification and bitterness, directed especially against Sweden. "Finland will fight on even if it is suicide, even if before we die we have to shoot our own wives and children rather than allow them to fall into the hands of the enemy," said one Army spokesman. But among the civilians the opinion was gaining ground that if Finland were deserted by Sweden, while Britain, France, and America could not give effective help, it was best to save what could be saved instead of prolonging a suicidal war. The holders of this opinion were greatly in the minority at first, and few people outside Finland expected that after more than three months of sacrifice in bitter warfare she would now consider terms which she had rejected before war began.

The Russo-Finland negotiations were officially announced on March 11, in Helsinki.

*Contact has recently been established between the Government of Finland and the
Government of the U.S.S.R. through the mediation of Sweden to find out whether possibilities exist for the cessation of hostilities and the restoration of peace." It was stated in Helsinki.

"On the invitation extended by the Government of the U.S.S.R. to the Government of Finland to send representatives to negotiate, a delegation left here last Wednesday consisting of M. Ryti, the Prime Minister; M. Paasikivi, a member of the Government, and other delegates. The Finnish Government has already knowledge of Russia's peace proposals. No decisions have been taken so far."

Moscow broadcasts meanwhile continued attacking Field-Marshai Mannerheim, the Finnish C-in-C, whom it termed the "White Butcher." The bewilderment of the Finnish population, who were unused to sudden changes in policy and had believed in the invincibility of their armies, grew even greater. While the negotiations were proceeding in Moscow a fierce battle was still taking place on the Karelian Isthmus and north-east of Lake Ladoga, and 1,000 Russians were killed in an all-day battle on the Kollaa River.

Anxiety in Britain and France increased at the possibility of harsh terms being forced on Finland, whose struggle had aroused so much deep sympathy. Both M. Darland, the French Premier, and Mr. Chamberlain were being pressed by their impatient peoples for details of the negotiations. It was revealed in London on March 12 that it was Russia who sought to have hostilities ended, and that M. Maisky, Soviet Ambassador in London, had outlined Russia's peace terms to Mr. R. A. Butler, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on February 22. But the British Government considered the terms so onerous that it refused to pass them on. Mr. Cham-

FINLAND FINDS PEACE ONCE AGAIN

Here inhabitants of Helsinki are taking down the planking with which their shops fronts had been protected. Centre photo shows the Finnish flag at half-mast in honour of Finland's dead. Below, left, evacuated return again to their home in Helsinki; the famous railway station is seen on the left.

Photos: Associated Press; Keystone

berlain at the same time announced that both the British and French Governments had already informed the Finnish Government that they were prepared, in response to a further appeal from Finland, to proceed immediately and jointly to the help of Finland, using all available resources at their disposal.

The sand was running out in Finland. Scarcely had M. Daladier made it known that an Allied expeditionary force had been ready for some days to proceed to Finland's aid, when it was announced in Helsinki that an agreement had been reached between the Finnish and Russian delegates, subject to ratification by the Finnish Parliament. M. Tanner, Finnish Foreign Minister, described how appeals to Sweden and Norway for help had been rejected, and how later, when the Allies offered to send an expeditionary force, the Scandinavian countries refused to allow transit, out of regard for their "strict neutrality."

The terms of Finland's peace, signed shortly after midnight on March 13, are printed in Historic Document No. 97 (p. 746). Briefly, they were as follows:

Hostilities to cease at noon on day of signature.

Cession by Finland of the whole of the Karelian Isthmus, including Vyborg and the whole shore of Lake Ladoga.

Soviet to lease the port and territory of Hanko for 30 years, at a rent of £35,000, to establish a naval base there.
FINNS SAY FAREWELL TO HANGO

A condition of the Russo-Finnish peace treaty was the leasing to Russia for 30 years of the port and territory of Hangö. Above, an old lady in tears as she leaves her home; left, Elis Wermstam, mayor of Hangö, takes a last glance at the city; below, Finns loading a yacht into a lorry at Hangö. Hangö was the yachting centre of Finland.

Photo: Foo; Wide World.
EXPROPRIATION OF FINNISH FAMILIES

Above, a Karelian smallholder, 50,000 of whom were forced to leave their houses under the terms of the Soviet peace treaty with Finland. Right, Finns loading their household goods on a lorry before leaving the district. Below, family belongings at a railway station in the Sortavala district.

Photos: Wide World; Fox
THE CONQUERED HONOUR
THEIR DEAD

Above, relatives of Finnish soldiers who
Died in the war against Russia file past
graves in the churchyard of Lappeenranta,
after a service given in honour of the fallen.
Right, in Finnish Lapland, soldiers still in
camp after the peace treaty had been
signed.

Photos: Associated Press / Central Press

Concentration of the Fishermen's Peninsula in
Fär North.

Finns to retain Pommera, but to denunci-
tate the district.

Finland not to maintain in the North
Atlantic warships, submarines or warplanes,
except small coast defence ships.

The peace treaty was signed by M.
Molotov, Soviet Premier and Foreign
Commissar, M. Zhdanov, member of the
Presidium of the Soviet Supreme
Council, and Brigade Commander Vas-
levski, for Russia. For Finland the
signatories were Dr. Ryti, Dr. Paasikivi,
General Walden and M. Yrjönnu.

Finland lost large timber resources
and sawmills, the whole lower part of the
Vuoksi industrial system, Viipuri, and
numerous magnificent cellulose and
other industrial undertakings. More
serious still were the loss of natural
defensive positions and the need for
resettlement of 100,000 people removed
from the Russian-occupied territories.
Flags in Helsinki were flown at half-
mast when the peace terms were made
known. Women cried; while men
sat in stony silence.

"Only the future can say whether we have
acted rightly or wrongly in concluding peace," said M. Ryti in a broadcast. "With the
sword in our hand and a guillotine in the other
we shall now hasten on the work of recon-
struction, the heeling of the wounds of war,
the maintenance and development of our
culture."

But in spirit the Finns were un-
daunted. Field-Marshal Mannerheim,
C-in-C of the Finnish army, was more
popular than ever. His last order of the
day to the Finnish forces was inspiring.

"Soldiers of the glorious Finnish Army," he
began, "peace has been concluded be-
 tween our country and the Soviet Union.
It is an alarming peace which has soldi-
ied Sweden, Russia, nearly every belligerent on
which you have done your blood on behalf of
everything we hold dear and sacred. You
did not want war. You loved peace, but were
forced into a struggle in which you have done
great deeds which will shine for centuries in
the pages of history.

"More than 16,000 of you who took the
field will never again see your homes. But
Field-Marshal Manneheim deplored that “valuable offers and promise of assistance which the Western Powers gave could not be realized because Sweden and Norway refused transit, owing to concern for their own safety.” As to the deeper reasons for the Finnish capitulation, it seems that, although Sweden was largely responsible because of her refusal to allow Allied aid, this refusal again may have been caused by doubts of the Allies’ ability to intervene effectively and speedily, not only in Finland but in Sweden also, if that country should be invaded by Germany as a result of the transit of Allied troops.

Undoubtedly the Finns, in the last stages of the innumerable battles, were losing far more men than they could afford—estimated at 1,000 a day, which would have allowed only 246 days of warfare for a nation whose total field army was only 216,000 men. The Finnish artillery, although replenished from foreign sources, was also largely worn out, and her men, without reserves, were suffering from exhaustion.

Bombing of the front lines and of other objectives played a large part in wearing down Finnish resistance. Russia could muster 2,300 aircraft—seven times as many as Finland’s. They prevented the Finnish soldier from getting his rest, and in the opinion of many experts were the deciding factor. Out-gunned, inferior in the air, immensely inferior in numerical strength, the Finnish armies nevertheless inflicted heavy losses on the Red Armies. On the front north of Lake Ladoga the Red Army’s crack 18th Division had been completely annihilated. On the “waistline” front Russian attempts to drive through to the Gulf of Bothnia had cost the invader 85,000 lives. Russia had sacrificed tanks and aircraft worth many millions of pounds, while her total losses in men were estimated at about 200,000. Little authentic news was available while the campaign was in progress, and not till many months later could a picture be formed of Soviet strategy. A review of the campaign given in Chapter 143 clears up some misapprehensions that were prevalent at the time.

Finland was faced with a gigantic task of reorganization. Pitiful scenes were witnessed as nearly half a million people from the coiled territories migrated before the advancing Russians. Belongings were piled on hand-sledges, on sledges pulled by reindeer, and on Finnish army lorries, and hundreds of formerly prosperous farms were abandoned. The problem of re-settlement was aggravated by the fact that Finland’s trade with the outer world had stagnated, and by the necessity of directing it into new channels. But the Finns received with open arms, their refugee countrymen, and that efficient organization which characterized the Finnish effort throughout the war was speedily adapted to dealing with them.

A defensive pact between Finland, Sweden and Norway was mooted in the Scandinavian Press. But at a hint from Russia the discussion was dropped. Sandwiched between mighty neighbours, Finland and the Scandinavian countries were obliged to follow a policy which would not offend these Powers. Russia’s reason for the campaign had been declared to be the securing of her own safety, and it seemed that she had limited her territorial demands to places which indeed were important from this strategical point of view, and had in fact asked for nothing more.

SOME VOLUNTEERS IN FREEDOM’S CAUSE

Left, Maj. Kermit Roosevelt talking to some of the boy volunteers whom he raised to fight for the Finns. The war ended before they could be used. Below, Field-Marshal Manneheim addressing the Swedish Volunteer Corps before their disbandment.

Photos, L.N.A.; Associated Press
Chapter 75

BALKAN TENSION: GERMANY AND THE ALLIES MANOEUVRE FOR POSITION

The Balkans in Spring, 1940—Hitler and Mussolini at the Brenner—Turkey Speeds Up Her Defence—Conference of the Balkan Entente—Strategic Difficulties of Yugoslavia—Rapprochement with Bulgaria—Molotov’s Speech Alarms Rumania—Germany’s Economy Demands—The English Commercial Corporation: a Ripple to Nazi Penetration—The Attitude of Greece

Deepening fears that the Balkans would be drawn into the Great War, fears which were allayed only temporarily by the mission of Mr. Sumner Welles, Special Envoy of President Roosevelt to Europe, reigned in the chancelleries of Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia and Athens in the early spring of 1940. The struggle between Russia and Finland was entering its decisive phase, Germany’s pressure for economic and political concessions in the Balkans, in order to counteract the growing effectiveness of the Allied blockade, was growing more insistent. The meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Entente on February 2 came and went with apparently no decision being reached as to the possibility of effective united action against aggression. Mussolini and Hitler had yet another meeting, this time at the Brenner, which caused grave disquiet in the Balkan countries; while a speech by M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, in which he mentioned Bessarabia, did nothing to allay Rumania’s suspicions of Russian policy.

To these pessimistic capitals of the Balkans there was one exception. This was Ankara. Public opinion in Turkey, which had for years been friendly to Germany and Russia, turned a full circle. The far-seeing wisdom of the Allies in concluding a pact of mutual assistance with Turkey became ever more apparent, in view of Turkey’s key situation in the Balkans and the Near East. After the First World War Russia had been the first country (after Afghanistan) to recognize the New Turkey. Turkey joined the League of Nations after consulting Russia; Turkey fostered the Balkan Entente with Moscow’s approval. With Stalin’s support, Kemal Ataturk, founder of the New Turkey, sent his delegates to negotiate the Montreux Convention relating to the Dardanelles. Then came the collapse of the Anglo-French negotiations in Moscow, and Ribbentrop’s dash to that capital; the Russo-German invasion of Poland quickly followed.

Up to that moment Turkey had counted on Russia to form the keystone in an Allied anti-aggression front. Turkey was negotiating with Russia a pact of non-aggression. M. Saragouli, Turkish Foreign Minister, went to Moscow in the belief that this pact would be concluded; but the Russians were obscure about their intentions and even demanded, as the price of the pact, a unilateral withdrawal of the Montreux Convention. This would have meant that Turkey would agree to close the Straits in all circumstances to foreign warships hostile to Soviet Russia.

M. Saragouli refused to give Russia the guarantee for which she asked; instead, he concluded the treaty of mutual assistance with the Allies to which Turkey was morally committed.

By virtue of her pact with the Allies, her control of the Dardanelles, and her relations with Greece, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan, Turkey became the leading Balkan State and the prop of the Balkan Entente and of Allied policy in the Balkans. The Turkish press began to show impatience with the hesitating policy of other neutral countries. The conclusion of peace between Finland and Russia, following the Scandinavian refusal to allow Allied troops to go to Finland’s aid, was greeted with regret. "The stigma of the Scandinavian attitude," wrote M. Hussein Jahid, a Deputy, was the most experienced of Turkish journalists, "will remain in their history for ever."

Turkey began to prepare actively for war. Supplies were reaching her from the Allies—"sometimes later, sometimes earlier than expected," as a Government spokesman said, "but they were arriving." Preventive blackouts were staged in various towns of Anatolia, assisted by Admiral Lucien Moreno, French Passive Defence Chief. There was now a number of consultations between President Inanc and the Turkish military chiefs, on the one hand, and Anglo-French military advisers. M. Saydam, Prime Minister of Turkey, broadcasting from Ankara, declared that after intensive preparations over the past 12 months Turkey was ready...
for anything. He revealed that Turkey had spent £30,000,000 on her army in the past year, and warned the nation that the crisis which had covered a large part of the world was now at Turkey's door.

But while Turkey thus armed herself to be ready for the fray, she kept a wary eye on Italy. Italy is much nearer to Turkey than is Germany, and the presence of Italian aeroplanes and warships in the Dodecanese Islands was an ever-present reminder to Turkey of the risks her harbours and towns might run if involved in a war with Italy. The studiously ambiguous policy of Mussolini had always caused suspicion in Ankara, where Italian post-War aspirations in Anatolia were remembered and resented. Italy's seizure of Albania, thereby weakening the powers of resistance of Yugoslavia and Greece, was contrary to Turkey's avowed policy of maintaining Balkan independence.

Turkish-Italian relations meanwhile remained conditioned by those between Italy and Turkey's Western allies. There was nothing in these relations in early February, 1940, to preclude the conclusion of a new trade agreement between Italy and Turkey, providing for an exchange of commodities to reach a total of £300,000,000 lire (£11,400,000) a year. Satisfaction in Turkey was not confined to the undoubted advantages arising out of increased trade between two countries whose economies were complementary, but was also due to the implied hint of a general improvement in the Balkan situation. Soon after the signature of the accord, on February 9, there were reports of an Italian approach to Turkey for a common Balkan policy in the event of a Soviet march into the Balkans. These reports could not be confirmed; but Turkey's attitude, so often proclaimed by her statesmen, was one of unconditional adherence to her pacts with the Allies.

The position of the Allies in other Balkan States was less satisfactory, largely owing to geographical considerations. The conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Balkan Entente ended on February 4, 1940, after which the following communiqué was issued:

"The exchange of views between the members of the permanent Council, which proceeded in a cordial and confident atmosphere, allows them to state unanimously:

(1) The common interest of the four States to maintain peace, order, and security in the Balkans is clear.
(2) Their aim is to pursue their respective pacific policies, strictly maintaining their positions in relation to the present conflict in order to preserve this region from the trials of war.
(3) Their will to remain united within the framework of the Balkan Entente which pursues its own ends and which is directed against no one, and to watch in common for the safeguard of the rights of each to its independence and national territory.
(4) Their sincere desire to maintain and to develop friendly relations with neighbouring States.
(5) The need to improve communications and economic links between the Balkan States.
(6) Proclamation of the Balkan Pact for seven years, beginning February 9, 1941.

Great Britain, France, Turkey, Germany and Italy all hailed the conference as a success, a fact which, in view of the opposing interests of the belligerents, led to the suspicion that the conference had resulted in nothing very tangible. "Germany," wrote the "Diplomatische-politische Korrespondenz," "welcomes any step which may lead to psychological consolidation and the strengthening of peaceful development in the Balkans." As it was Germany's main aim to retain the Balkans as a granary to enable her to defeat the British blockade, the inference was drawn that she saw nothing in the results of the Balkan Entente conference which would draw them together in a common stand against further Nazi aggression."
For Britain the chief significance seemed to lie in Clause 3 of the Balkan Conference agreement, where the members of the Entente agreed to "watch in common for the safeguard of the right of each to its independence and its national territory." This seemed to imply some attempt at neutral collaboration against aggressors from any quarter in the Balkans, but to what extent this "watch in common" would result in effective mutual assistance against aggression seemed somewhat problematical, in the absence of knowledge of any secret agreement which may have been reached at the conference.

"Yugoslavia, with the longest frontiers of any Balkan State, was faced with strategic difficulties far more difficult than those of Greece, Romania, and Turkey. Such factors as her minorities, the infiltration of Nazi agents, and the proximity of Italy, Germany, and Hungary (the last with territorial claims on Yugoslavia), would make her cautious in conferring help to a neighboring Balkan State. Nearly half of her export trade was already with Germany, and the lack of economic propaganda on the eve of the conference suggesting that neutral countries could best show their goodwill towards the Reich by selling Germany what they needed, accentuated a vested interest.

Nevertheless, there were two encouraging developments in Yugoslavia as far as the Allies were concerned. One was the increasingly pro-Allied sentiment of both Serbs and Croats, who formed the great mass of the Yugoslav State; the other was the growing appreciation by the Yugoslav Government that the Allies were likely to win the war, and that, unless Yugoslavia found other markets besides those of Germany, she would suffer economic crisis. The dispatch of Yugoslav trade delegates to London reflected the country's desire for closer collaboration with the Democracies. Especially was Yugoslavia's general interest in receiving Allied aircraft and machinery emphasized.

Another good result of the Balkan Conference was to confirm the continuance of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and her former enemy, Bulgaria, a pro-American move which Britain had constantly worked for, with a view to removing Bulgarian opposition (arising out of her territorial grievances) to collaboration against aggression with the other Balkan Powers. But although Bulgarian-Yugoslav friendship was confirmed, Bulgaria inclined distinctly to what she termed "Balkan neutrality" rather than sympathy for the cause of the Allies.

Bulgaria's view of Balkan good-neighbourliness included friendship towards Soviet Russia, with whose commercial relations were becoming increasingly intimate. In March, 1940, the U.S.S.R.-Bulgaria Air Line between Moscow and Sofia, via Kharkov, Kharkov-Plovdiv and Plovdiv was inaugurated, a regular and passenger service between the U.S.S.R. and Bulgaria was inaugurated by the motor ship "Svastika," which sailed from Odessa to Varna. This was the first regular service between Bulgaria and Russia since the war of 1914-18.

Bulgaria provided a political occasion with the resignation after the Balkan Conference of M. Kossiavos, her Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, who had played a notable part in Bulgarian-Turkish suppression and was well known to all Allied diplomats in the Balkans. M. Kossiavos was replaced in the premiership by a scientist, M. Bogdan Povilov. It was officially affirmed, however, that the change in the Government implied no change in Bulgarian foreign policy, which remained one of strictest neutrality.

March 29, 1940, saw the third anniversary of the signature of the Yulugov-Yugoslav part of friendship, and consularatory acronyms were exchanged between Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, and Sr. Andjio Markovic, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia. In spite of official cordial relations with the Allies and her close watch on that country, whose unslated aspirations for the fine natural harbors of the Dalmatian coast had persisted since the First World War, relations were normal.

An unwelcome aftermath of the Balkan Conference was a campaign against Yugoslavia in the Hungarian press, arising out of the presumed extension against Hungary of the Bulgaria's "friendly" commitments to help each other against aggression. Hungary, in common with other Balkan countries, would certainly have resisted any attempt at dividing them up into spheres of influence without their consent.

The end of the Russo-Finnish war, which had meanwhile been negotiated (March 10) and had resulted in the cession of large tracts of territory to the Soviet, also inspired a certain amount of opinion as regards Russia's future intentions in the Balkan area. Yugoslavia thought that, in view of Russia's internal situation, her need to take breath after her losses in Finland, and German interests in the Balkans, the Soviet would go in for no new adventures at the moment. Bulgaria was relieved—not only because of the friendship of the Czechs and Rumanians, and the balance of power weighed Bulgarian admiration for Finland's gallant resistance, but also because the Rumanians, part of the Balkan Counter-cartel, were showing signs of breaking away from the Red Alliance.
her neutrality. "We will not participate in a big war," he said. "The Soviet will not be an instrument of alien policy, but will pursue an independent attitude." Accusing Britain and France of being actuated by motives of revenge, Molotov said:

"The fantastic plans ascribed to Russia of an imaginary campaign by the Red Army against India, Egypt and the like have such an obvious absurdity that only people devoid of reason can believe such ridiculous gossip."

M. Molotov then made a reference to Bessarabia:

"We have no part of non-aggression with Rumania. This is explained by the existence of the unsettled controversy over Bessarabia, the solution of which by Rumania has never been recognized by the Soviet. But we have never raised the question of its recovery by war."

Turkey was quick to emphasize the assertion that the Soviet did not intend to take part actively in the war. In official circles it was felt that the possibility of maintaining peace in the Near East as far as Russia was concerned was good. But this reassuring view of the future was not shared by Rumania.

The history of Rumania's relations with Finland was hardly such as to induce Rumania to relax her precautions. The completion of the defences on the northern and western frontiers was pushed forward with all speed. It was estimated that Rumania had 1,500,000 men mobilized during the early months of 1940. A real effort was made to cooperate with Bulgaria, whose aspirations regarding the Rumanian territory of South Dobrudja might turn her into an uncomfortable neighbour in Rumania's rear if Rumania were confronted with aggression from other quarters. M. Constantinescu, the Rumanian Finance Minister and President of the National Bank, visited Sofia and had talks with King Boris and his ministers. Although the Southern Dobrudja was not specifically mentioned, the impression gained ground in Sofia that Rumania would not be averse to promising consideration of Bulgaria's claim to this territory when international harmony in Europe had been restored. Meanwhile, arrangements were agreed on for an intensification of commercial exchanges between the two countries.

German pressure on Rumania for greater deliveries of oil, wheat and other products continued with greater force than ever. The long freeze-up of the Danube, the shortage of railway rolling stock in Rumania, and the falling up of so many peasants to the colour of Rumania and the Rome-Berlin Axis Powers.

In the trade between the Allies and Nazi Germany, the Balkans, the Allied weapons were their free world, and many of the world, which could be made available or unavailable to Balkan exporters; their control of essential raw materials and certain essential armaments supplies; and the unprofitable sympathies of the peoples in every Balkan country except Bulgaria for the Allied cause. The German weapons were their previously acquired hold on the trade of the Balkan countries; the proximity of German troops to the Balkans; and the spread of propaganda aimed at inspiring the Balkans with fear that they would be overrun if they resisted Nazi demands.

Working in favour of the Nazis was the lesson learned by their ruthless destruction of Poland, supplemented by many films to show the alleged invincibility of the Siegfried Line. The Nazis implied that Germany was Rumania's only friend who could prevail on Russia to hold her hand. But the main Nazi argument was fear, and the more fear they could inspire the greater were their chances of securing economic hegemony in the Balkans.

The extent of Nazi economic penetration was indicated by trade figures, which became available in the early part of 1940. These showed the total exports of the Balkan countries and Germany's share of those exports as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Exports (millions)</th>
<th>Exports to Greater Germany (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>9,200</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>26,800</td>
<td>11,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>177,500</td>
<td>53,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>8,521</td>
<td>2,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>5,055</td>
<td>2,878</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be seen that Germany's share amounted in most cases to nearly one half, and in the case of Bulgaria to more than 50 per cent of each country's total exports. Exports to Britain during 1939 were in comparison insignificant; being as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Total Exports to Great Britain for the Year 1939 (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumania</td>
<td>5,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>7,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BULGARIAN PREMIER

The Kostovovets ministry resigned on February 15, 1940, and a new Bulgarian government was formed next day headed by Professor Bogdan Filov (above).

Photo: Planet News
After the outbreak of the Second Great War, Germany's share of Balkan trade as compared with Britain's share still further increased, as shown in the following tabulation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balkan Exports—Four Months</th>
<th>To U.K.</th>
<th>To Greater Germany</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>September to December, 1939 (All figures in millions of local currencies)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>6,310</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>9,317</td>
<td>1,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>73,385</td>
<td>4,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>3,105</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>2,888</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was seen in London and Paris that, if the Allied blockade was not to be seriously vitiated by a large influx of commodities to Germany from the Balkan countries, energetic steps were necessary. The result was the summoning to a conference in London of the British diplomatic representatives in Belgrade, Sofia, Bucharest, Athens, Ankara, and Rome. The summons stirred the imagination of the Balkan press, as the Balkan countries felt that at last their economy, so neglected by the Western Powers in the years of peace, would gain by the renewed Allied interest. It was taken as a proof that the Allies meant business in the Balkans.

Especially was this so with Greece, who was very eager to find an alternative market in the Allied countries for tobacco, which constituted 45 per cent in value of her total exports. Greek sympathy for the Allied cause arose not only out of Germany's ruthless sea warfare, which had resulted in severe losses to Greece's mercantile marine, but from the traditional bonds of friendship which had united Britain with Greece since the beginning of the 19th century, when British volunteers (including Lord Byron) and warships played a decisive part in the achievement of Greek freedom from Turkish domination. These bonds had been reinforced by the Allied guarantee given after Mussolini's invasion of Albania.

Pro-Allied sentiment in Greece was, however, kept in strict bounds by King George II and his right-hand man, General Metaxas. The press was allowed to give only equal space to German and Allied communiques, and comment was banned. The last conflict in which the Greeks were involved had ended in 1923, when hostilities with Turkey ceased, and the Greeks were heartily tired of war. Greece had also to consider the attitude of her great neighbour, Italy, whose ties with Berlin could hold grave implications for Greece if the latter abandoned her neutral attitude. Greek harbours and towns were particularly vulnerable to attack from the air, while Italy had secured a land frontier with Greece by her seizure of Albania. Greece's attitude was one of watchful waiting. Meanwhile, she continued with her rearmament and, to use the words of General Metaxas in Salonika, in February: "Whether Greece was spared conflict or not, she would maintain her self-respect. She would not crawl on her stomach in order to be spared the horrors of war."

Further indication of the Allied resolve to obtain a much larger share of Balkan trade was the formation, announced by Sir John Simm on April 5, of a great British trading corporation under Government auspices to develop trade with the Balkans. The corporation, called the English Commercial Corporation (Enco), was aimed at intensifying the economic war against Germany. Capital was being provided by the Treasury, and Viscount Swinton was nominated chairman.

In some London quarters, however, doubt was still expressed as to the efficacy of economic methods alone in countering the Nazi stranglehold on the Balkans. Opportunities to purchase and sell in the Allied markets, the critics said, would hardly induce the small Balkan countries near Germany to lay their territory open to Nazi invasion by refusal to bow to German economic behests. The Nazis were never tired of pointing out that whereas the Allied armies were some distance away in the Near East, the Nazi armies were on, or close to, the frontiers of Rumania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. It was widely felt in London that, if the new trading corporation were to block the Balkan hole in the Allied blockade, the Allies would have to make the necessary strategic dispositions to ensure speedy and effective support for the Balkans against the Nazi military menace, in addition, of course, to economic support.
Chapter 78

FIVE MONTHS OF ECONOMIC WARFARE:
TIGHTENING UP THE BLOCKADE OF GERMANY

Cutting Off Germany's Sea-borne Exports—A Million Tons of Enemy Contra-
band Captured—The Navicert System—The Nazi Position Examined—
Stopping Leaks in the Blockade—British Trade Agreements—Drawing the
Noose Tighter

This Chapter takes up the story of
Economic Warfare from page 329,
and deals with the five months
November, 1939, to March, 1940.

Although within twenty-four hours of
the declaration of war, Britain imposed
a ban on the import of certain goods—
"contraband of war"—into Germany,
for the first few days, the German official
authorities did not seem to understand the
importance of this action. Only on November 27
that the same restrictions were made to operate
against Germany's exports. It was not until
November 27 that it was announced that Germany
had decided to follow a similar course.

A few days later—on
November 27—the King signed an
Order in Council declaring that German exports
that had been shipped before the official
date should be liable to confiscation,
and on December 4 the two-way block-
ade of Germany came into operation.

From midnight on that day all
export goods of German origin were
liable to be detained by the Ministry of
Economic Warfare, and all ships out-
ward bound from Continental ports
were required to call at one of the
contraband control ports for the exami-
nation of their papers and cargo.

All goods carried in neutral bottoms which
were discovered to be of enemy origin
were detained, and it was stated that
they, or the proceeds of their sale, would
be retained until the end of the war.

German spokesmen professed to feel
little concern over the new measure,
inasmuch as the export trade of the
Reich, particularly with the countries of
Latin America, had already been reduced to
insignificant proportions. Many of the
neutrals, however, protested vigorously.
For a week or two Lord Halifax
was kept busy at the Foreign Office
receiving visits of protest from the
representatives of the, disinterested states—
Italy and Japan, Denmark and Belgium,
Sweden and Norway—and every effort
was made by the Government to meet
any reasonable objection. As Mr. Baldwin,
Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs,
made it plain in the House of Commons
on December 1, Britain was doing her
best to understand the difficulties of
neutrals and to spare them undue hard-
ships, but this must be consistent with
her primary object of exercising her belligerent rights and winning the war.

Soon the tide of complaint and contention
began to ebb, and it was generally
recognized that the new British scheme
of reprisals could hardly
be compared with that
method of warfare
which made, or could
make, no discrimination between friend
and foe, between active belligerent and
innocent neutral. Meanwhile, the war
against Germany's imports was being
prosecuted with the utmost vigour and the
most striking success. Not a week
passed but she was deprived of quantities
of petroleum, mineral ores, cotton,
oils and fats, rubber, flax, hides and skins,
and foodstuffs. Thus in the last
week of 1939 the British Contraband
Control intercepted and detained 30,800
tons of contraband goods suspected of
being destined for Germany, comprising:

17,500 tons of petroleum and allied
products,
1,450 tons of ores and metals,
600 tons of miscellaneous foodstuffs,
400 tons of oils and fats,
100 tons of cotton,
1,000 tons of gums and resins,
and quantities of rubber, chemical products,
tanning materials, timber, and hides and
skins.

GERMANY IS FEELING THE PINCH

Field-Marshal Goering—in a white tunic—is seen above inspecting scrap metal gathered for
Germany's National Metal Collection. It will be noted that there is a metal head of Goering
himself on the table and one of the Pilsner on the ground.

Photo, Associated Press
In the war's first seventeen weeks the total detention by the British Contraband Control amounted to 537,600 tons of goods capable of being used in the prosecution of the war, and in the same period the French Contraband Control detained 429,600 tons, making a total of nearly a million tons.

Just before Christmas the Ministry of Economic Warfare translated the joint Allied total into picturesque terms. To transport the petroleum seized, 600 trains consisting of 30,000 trucks would be required, and 640 trains consisting of 32,000 trucks would be needed to carry the various metals seized. To transport by rail all the contraband seized would necessitate the employment of 116,500 trucks, or 2,330 trains. These tracks, being coupled together into a continuous train, would take up 600 miles of railway line—roughly equal to the distance from Hamburg to Vienna. Then, with reference to the British seizures alone, the fines seized would make 46,000,000 sandbags and the hides and skins well over 6,000,000 pairs of army boots; while the cotton would be sufficient to manufacture 12,000,000 6-inch howitzer rounds; and the petroleum products of various kinds, amounting to over 23,000,000 gallons, would more than fill to capacity the tanks of every motor vehicle on Britain's roads.

When Mr. Ronald Cross, Minister of Economic Warfare, was called upon on January 17, 1940, to give a review of his Ministry's activities, he spoke in encouraging fashion. Opening with the definition of economic war, he said, means attacking the industrial, financial and economic structures of the enemy, thus to cripple and enfeeble his armed forces that he can no longer effectively carry on the war—he went on to describe the steps which had been taken, in the most cordial and active conjunction with our French allies and with the Governments of our partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

to employ the economic weapon against a country which had been moulded and hampered into one vast military and economic machine. Owing to the many channels of supply still left open to the enemy in the shape of neutral countries, a new technique had been necessary, and had been devised.

"It was in no sense our desire," said the Minister, "to build a wall against neutral states. We wished to put nothing in the way of their getting goods for their own legitimate consumption. What we were seeking was that such goods as penetrated to the German frontier should not pass over it. The more we succeeded in putting a barrier to the actual German frontiers the force would be the delays to neutral shipping and the greater would be the continuance of bona fide neutral trade."

He went on to describe the system of Navicertt, a form of naval passport which was issued on advance information of cargoes being given before the actual shipment, and told of the negotiation of a number of trade agreements and the large-scale purchase in neutral countries of goods which might have passed into enemy hands and so have been applied to the extension of the German war effort. Giving some details of the latter, Mr. Cross revealed that our agents had bought goods in countries where we had never bought them before.

"We had made forward contracts for commodities which in peacetime would have been sold by British men to us. Our agents had taught countries to find the last name of a commodity, and we had not bought enough to endanger German supplies we had often made them a deal great deal more expensive. In this respect, we had been aided in a number of countries by the intelligent anticipations of the sellers of the goods. German buyers had been confronted with scarcity and high prices, and if German complaints were any true guide our policy had been very effective."

Next the Minister made an examination of the German position.

"Germany," he said, "had not the reserves that she had twenty-five years ago. Her resources and her stocks of raw materials were smaller; conditions of life were strained; rationing already existed; for clothing and soap; the people of Berlin were starving from lack of coal, which was being used to provide synthetic rubber and for export. There were signs of an abnormal desire to convert currency into goods for fear of future inflation; there had been a rush to buy in quantity such unusual goods as
nine baths, because they were not rationed.

"Black markets" in food were growing up in some areas. A neutral sent a Christmas gift to someone in Germany of a cake, and the father of the family, in thanking the sender, said he would like another. On the other hand, sufficient fish was being imported from the Danubian countries to provide a standing delicacy on the tables of the party leaders.

Germany, said the Minister, was short of many vital raw materials—petroleum, copper, wool, cotton, oils and fats—and as 85 per cent of her Nazi Textile supplies were obtained normally by imports from overseas, the textile situation in the Reich was acute, and rationing had had to be introduced for all kinds of clothing. Here Mr. Cross produced a clothing ration card, one such as was issued to men in Czechoslovakia.

"It was quite an interesting system and worked like a parlour game. There were a hundred coupons which could be distributed, and which had to last for a year. A holder had to give sixty coupons for one suit, two coupons for a man's handkerchief, fifty coupons for a mackintosh, twenty or thirty for a shirt, and so on. It was clear that in the course of a year only a meagre amount could be obtained by this ration card. Other articles, such as blankets, linens, table-linen, and so on, could be obtained only on production of a licence."

In conclusion, Mr. Cross declared that, despite the German natural fertility in cotton we should not have been drawn together very tightly. After four and a half months of war we could claim that there were no important leakages, and they were looking forward in all confidence to the day when they would have no strangled Germany's economic life that she could no longer maintain her war effort.

Further light on the operation of the economic weapon was thrown by Mr. Cross in a broadcast on January 24, 1940, when he answered the criticism that it was inhumane to include food-stuffs in the list of contraband.

"We must realize," he said, "that Germany is a totalitarian country and that such German has his place on that economic front which we are attacking. To relax our attack would merely prolong the war and increase the loss of life. What is more, you cannot separate food-stuffs from industrial war materials—no in those days. Bakelite is made from milk, sugar from trees, high explosives from fats. Alcohol is a motor fuel."

"Above all, I want to make it absolutely clear that there must be no starvation in Germany, no matter how long the war may last. Germany is practically self-sufficient if the Nazis use their plentiful foodstuffs to feed their people, not their guns. Guns, not butter. Fats to feed the people? Or fats for explosives to feed the guns? It has been a real and painful choice for the German people. It may become more painful yet, but it is the Nazi Government which has made that choice, and will have to explain it. It is for the British, who starve the German women and children..."

With cheerful colours, then, Britain's Minister of Economic Warfare painted the picture of his department's activities—colours, which, stated critics in the Commons and country alike, declared, were too cheerful. There were some who reminded him that the Berliners were not alone in suffering through the bitter weeks of winter because their coal supplies had failed; that Leningraders, too, had a coal famine and probably for the same reason—difficulty of transport in winter conditions more severe than any in the memory of living men. As for the clothes ration card about which Mr. Cross made such play, might it and the other examples of German rationing be a sign of the Nazi's realization that they were really at war, that they were willing to tighten their belts now in order that they might fatten on the profits of the "bloated pluto-democracies"? Besides, the German popular press showed that they could joke about the 100-point system of clothes rationing—and joking is often a sign of strength.

Still more to the point were the allegations that a number of leaks had developed, or had always existed, in the blockade of the Reich. Through all the neutral countries on Germany's fringe—and at that date they were still many—supplies were pouring into the Reich from overseas, particularly from the U.S.A., and from the figures it was quite obvious that much of the imports was destined not for home consumption but for re-export to the Reich. Thus, during the first five months of the war Italian purchases in the United States increased by £3,500,000, and Norway's by nearly as much; Sweden's by £5,000,000, Holland's by £4,250,000, and Switzerland's by £2,000,000. Though some of this traffic was undoubtedly legitimate, the increase—in the case of Italian purchases—dubious figurative the year before, while the Norwegian and Swiss purchases were, respectively, three times...
and four times—was far too big to be explained in terms of normal trade. Moreover, it was significant that bulkings large among the purchases were cotton, petrol, iron, steel, and copper—all materials which had a most definite wartime value.

Other figures supporting the same conclusion came to be quoted. Thus, the last four months of 1938 the U.S.A. exports to thirteen neutral countries of Europe—capable of acting as "Middlemen"—amounted to £22,000,000, as compared with £33,000,000 in the corresponding period of 1939—representing an increase of £11,000,000. Yet during those same four months of war Britain and France received from the U.S.A. goods to the value of £67,000,000, as compared with goods to the value of £60,500,000 purchased in the last four months of 1938—an increase of only £6,500,000.

Again, whereas between September 1, 1939, and January 31, 1940, the sales of the U.S.A. to the Reich dropped by £7,500,000, American shipments to eight neutrals next door to Germany increased by £17,125,000 in the same period.

Finally, there can be little doubt that the huge quantities of copper, wheat, petrol, rubber, tin which since the beginning of the war were dispatched across the Pacific from the U.S.A. to Vladivostok, Soviet Russia's Far Eastern port, were largely destined to further Germany's war effort; for even though those actual goods were not dispatched to the Reich, their import into the Soviet Union permitted the release of equivalent amounts for Germany's use. Before the war America's sales to Russia averaged less than £1,000,000 a month, but even quite early in the war they had been more than doubled.

In the face of such criticisms, supported as they were by statistics of indubitable authority, the Minister of Economic Warfare, while he did not claim that the blockade was 100 per cent effective, stated that to the best of his knowledge there was no significant leakage of sea-borne imports. In particular he defended the trade agreements which had been negotiated with neutrals and which had been attacked on the ground that they permitted imports on too lavish a scale. The only alternative, he said, was the rationing of neutrals. "But we cannot seize shipping."

Such conduct would earn me the title wished on me by the Hamburg radio, of "Minister of Piratical Warfare."

Mr. Chamberlain also defended the war trade agreements in his state ment on April 2, 1940; all of them, he said, contained stipulations regulating the exports of the domestic products of neutral countries to Germany—in particular, of the fats essential to the Nazi war effort. Another weapon in our armory, he went on, was that of purchase, and he told how Britain had bought up the entire exportable surplus of Norway's current catch of whale oil, while the Allied purchases of minerals in southeastern Europe had also been on a large scale. The most important of all the weapons of our economic warfare, he continued, was the employment of our sea power, and after a reference to certain practical steps which had been taken to interfere with the unimpeded passage of German cargo ships from Scandinavia—steps which a few days later were followed by the German invasion of Norway—he announced that Soviet ships suspected of carrying contraband destined for Germany via Vladivostok had been recently detained.

On the whole, then, the economic war's offensive aspect might well seem to be full of promise. The morale was being drawn ever tighter around the neck of the Reich; her people were already short of rations, her factories were running short of essential raw materials, and the ingenuity of her chemists was being increasingly taxed to devise substitutes for the materials which no longer succeeded in crossing the lighthouse. As for the defensive aspect—against Germany's blackmail of Britain—the outlook was even more certainly encouraging, for (as we tell in another chapter) the dual menace of mines and torpedo had failed altogether to close our ports to the argosies of world-wide commerce.


**Diary of the War**

**MARCH: 1940**

**March 1, 1940.** Russian matériel pressure on Vladiwostok. Violent air battles over Tanekari. Italian airships over Okha. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok, and on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 2.** The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 3.** Hand-to-hand fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 4.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 5.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 6.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 7.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 8.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 9.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 10.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 11.** Fighting continues round Vladiwostok and Vladivostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 12.** Fighting still raging in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 13.** Fighting still raging in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 14.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 15.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 16.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 17.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 18.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 19.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 20.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 21.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

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**March 24.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 25.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 26.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 27.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 28.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 29.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.

**March 30.** Fighting in Vladiwostok. The British forces make air raids on Vladiwostok and Vladivostok.
THE CEASELESS SEARCH FOR CONTRABAND

Day in and day out the work of the British Contraband Control went on unceasingly, and suspect cargoes in neutral vessels were thoroughly overhauled under the watchful eye of the Royal Navy. In addition to this meticulous investigation of cargoes, all parts of the ships were searched, and passengers interrogated. In this photograph drums of oil are being carefully examined.
THE EMPIRE ANSWERS THE CALL

The overseas contingents of the New Zealand and Australian armies had a hearty send-off from their fellow-countrymen when they left their homes to go to the aid of the Mother Country. Above, New Zealand troops marching through the streets of Christchurch. Below, men of the Second A.F.E. embarking on a transport at Sydney.
AUSTRALIAN TROOPS IN THE HOLY CITY AGAIN

The first contingent of the Second Australian Imperial Force, together with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, landed safely at Suez on February 13, 1916. They quickly settled down in their camps in the Near East, and at times were able to visit places of interest in the Holy Land. Above, a party of Australians is seen leaving the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.
MR. EDEN CONVEYS THE KING'S GREETINGS TO THE ANZACS

When the Anzacs arrived at Suez in February, 1916, they were greeted by Mr. Anthony Eden, who is seen above addressing men of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force. Mr. Eden, at that time Dominions Secretary, had flown from England with a message to the men from the King. On the extreme right is Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. V. Wavell, commanding the British Land Forces in the Middle East.
THE EMPIRE AT WAR: BUILDING UP A STRIKING FORCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Anzacs Arrive in the Middle East—A Highly Successful Transport Operation—Progress of the Empire Air Training Scheme—Vanguard of Canada's Air Force—Rhodesia's Fine War Effort—How India Aided Britain With Men and Money—More Gifts from the Straits Settlements

With the approach of spring, 1940, the tempo of warlike movements, in the British Empire began to grow faster and more obvious. In February and March was seen the first big demonstration of the Imperial military power, capable of such immense development and based upon the overwhelming economic and naval resources of the British Commonwealth. And in this period the chief event was the arrival of the Anzacs in the Middle East, recalling the magnificent intervention of their predecessors on several vital battlefields in the First Great War.

The first transports carrying contingents of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and the Second Australian Imperial Force from the Antipodes arrived at Suez on February 12. The news sounded a note of determination and confidence in ultimate issues, in cheerful contrast to the winter spell of Nazi threats and intrigues, and to the Russian menace to isolated Finland's very existence.

Not only was the arrival of the Anzacs as reinforcements for the Allies' Middle East Forces a significant indication of our determination and power to maintain communications from the Mediterranean across the Near East to Iran (the great oil route), but it warned Soviet Russia that her own oil shipments from the Caspian part of Baku were vulnerable to Allied and Turkish attack if she should attempt to invade the Balkans in concert with her pseudo-allies, Germany. Throughout the Near East the political effect was immense. Both Egypt and Turkey were reassured, while in Palestine and Syria during the next few weeks, the disloyal Arab elements seemed to be submerged, and at last the Arabs and Jews of Palestine began openly to cooperate, in a common attitude of antagonism to enemies of the Allies.

Dramatic in significance, the arrival of the Anzacs was also highly impressive; in the complete success of the operation. One of the greatest and most fully equipped armies ever to be transported in a single convoy had come 10,000 miles without an accident or casualty, and in complete secrecy. The news was published on February 13, when the public learnt how the fleet of great liners had reached Suez the previous day, and New Zealanders had been the first to land. The Anzac forces had been greeted officially by Mr. Eden, Dominion Secretary: Sir Miles Lampson, British Ambassador to Egypt; Lieut.-General Sir Archibald Wavell, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in the Middle East; the Governor of the Suez Canal, and others. The great fleet of transports was escorted by British, Australian and New Zealand warships, and within 48 hours the military contingents had taken up camping and training quarters, not only at Suez, but in Egypt and Palestine. The advance guard of the Australians, for example, had disembarked at El Kantara, at the north end of the Suez Canal, on the evening of the 12th, and arrived in camp in Palestine the next day. The "Daily Telegraph," Jerusalem Correspondent's report supplied the public with another of those vivid glimpses of far-flung Imperial activities.

The troops left their trains at a small village station at quiet efficiency and travelled to the camp in a long line of buses. They quickly settled down in their new surroundings. Australian menites took over from the British soldiers who had been guarding the camp. The Australians seemed in excellent spirits as they took their lunch, which was cooked in big iron kettles. Final touches were being put to the camps, and Arab and Jewish workmen were busily working on the roads, buildings, and asphalt parking areas.

The arrival of the Anzac forces in Egypt on the same day was seen by a writer in the "Palestine Post" as a deterrent to a Russian thrust in the Middle East or a German advance in the Balkans.

To the Dominion forces will fall a vital share in the common efforts developed by the Allies in the east region, which divides the Russian sphere of influence from the German. To maintain peace in this region and to bolster the position of Turkey are the main objects which brought the Middle East the successor of those forces who made the battlefields of Gallipoli immortal.

"If the significance of the event was quickly seized by the local press, it was no less clearly perceived across the world. The "New York Times"

Generals in Conference

Prior to his appointment as Generalissimo on the Western Front, General Weygand was in command of the French Forces of the Levant. He is seen above in conversation with Lieut.-Gen. Sir A. P. Wavell, Commander of the British Land Forces in the Middle East.

Photo: Keystone
described the Allied armies assembling in Egypt as "a form of insurance against any attempt to spread the war. Without bringing a single shot it can act as a terrible warning to Russia or Germany to ease either tempted to strike in the Near East."

M. André Chamoux, in "Paris Soir," voiced a French view of the significance of the arrival of the Anzac by remarking that it was obviously a warning to Germany, and explained why Germany had sent so many technical experts to reorganize railway and waterway communications from the petrol-producing regions. The Reich, he said, did not appear to have realized soon enough that it might have to face a long war in which these regions would be vital.

A particularly interesting reaction was observed in the Spanish press, which gave the event much prominence. The "A.B.C." referred to the contingents as "a formidable army of Australians and New Zealanders emerging from the sea like a phantom army of which nobody knew anything." Since the Spanish press was always being plentifully supplied with sensational stories of German munitions and secret weapons, some significant attachments to the attitude of a Spanish newspaper by one saying to him: "From what I can see, the English talk less and do more."

Further Anzac contingents and supplies were to follow, making it clear that the first great fleet of transports, but the full meaning of these powerful reinforcements could be grasped only by realizing that the French and British picked troops already in the Middle East were conservatively estimated to number some 750,000 men, fully equipped. To these could be added, in prospect, at least, 200,000 tough fighters of the Turkish army, who were being lethally furnished with new equipment and supplies. The situation thus created certainly tended to immobilize both Russia and Italy, if either should be tempted by Germany into a Balkan adventure.

The Dominions supplying this addition to the Allied military power soon showed that they were merely at the beginning of their active participation in the war. On February 14th Mr. E. J. Jones, New Zealand Minister of Defence, stated that more than 12,000 men had been passed as fit for overseas service, and another 4,000 were awaiting examination. A few days before this it was announced that another thousand lumberjacks had been sent to Scotland from New Zealand to help in forestry work. The Dominion had already sent a thousand for this work, and had also recruited one thousand for patrol work in the Royal Navy. Many of these naval men were in Britain in February. Among the foresters were some of the men who had gone to Britain for the same purpose twenty-five years before.

In this month, also, it was announced that under the Empire Air Training Scheme, which seemed to have been lagging behind the plans announced for it in the previous autumn, some seventy-five training schools were to be established in Canada, as well as new ones in Australia and New Zealand. A few weeks later the order of commencement of actual training was fixed for May, 1940.

During the Canadian election campaign, in which the Government was being attacked for inactivity in its war effort, Mr. Mackenzie King declared on February 22 that the training of the Canadian Second Division was "proceeding rapidly," and that it would be dispatched overseas at the appropriate time. How soon this might be, no one could yet tell with certainty. Also, an Air Force cooperation squadron for the military forces was now trained and about to join the Canadian First Division overseas. Actually the first...
ANZACS ARRIVE IN EGYPT ONCE MORE

The photographs in this page show:
1. Men of the Second Australian Imperial Force disembarking by night at Suez.
2. Brigadier K.S. Allen, D.S.O., commanding the Australian Force during the voyage, on his arrival at Suez.
3. A soldier of the and A.I.F. looking over the water at other ships of the convoy which brought the Australians safe and sound to the Middle East.
4. Major-General B.C. Freyberg, V.C., the commander of the New Zealand Force overseas, waiting to meet on one of the transports.
5. A member of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force, mounted on a camel, right-seeing at the Pyramids.

Photos, B.L.P.P.A., Associated Press, Commonwealth Dept. of Information
ASPECTS OF THE EMPIRE AT WAR

Above, an open-air cinema in Burma showing films of Britain’s war effort during one of the great Pagaode Festivals. Above right, a gun of the Indian Forces serving in the Middle East. Right, gun practice at Galle Face, Ceylon. Below, a review of Gold Coast troops at Accra.

The picturesque band of the Gold Coast Regiment is seen moving towards the saluting base.

Photos: P.N.A.; Keystone; S.L.P.P.A.
The general feeling in Britain was voiced by the Poet Laureate—

"To the Australians Coming to Help Us"

Out of your young man’s passion to be free
You left your lovely land to be our friends
Unto the death of Anzac, on the sea,
At Ypres, and on the chalk ridge of Passchendaele.
Whenever death was grinning, you were there!
No battle in the world was easy
But you helped win, or, failing, met your ends.
Again, you give your friendship: for the sake
Of fellow mortals wronged a world away.
You gladly lay down liberty and take
The front and rear, wherever it may lead.
Advance, Australia! welcome and good speed!

That nation should help nation in her need
Is sunlight to us in this winter day.

Yours above by Mr. Macpherson, presented to Mr. J. H. Broun, Australian High Commissioner in London, and sent by the High Commissioner to Mr. H. G. Menzies, Commonwealth Prime Minister.

CANADIANS ON ACTIVE SERVICE

Here are photographs showing phases of Canada's wartime effort.

Above, Mr. Norman Rogers, Canadian Defence Minister (later killed in an air crash in Canada), chatting to Lieut-General McNaughton, the Canadian C-in-C, at Aldershot. Left, officers of the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve at guppy practice. Below, Canadian soldiers in England voting for candidates at the general election held in Canada on March 30, 1940.


militia not yet mobilized with units of the Canadian active service force, providing reinforcements for the latter. All infantry units were to be grouped into eleven Territorial regiments.

In Australia, during this period up to the end of April, when further extension of hostilities by Germany was threatening in both the south-east and the west, measures were being discussed for laying down merchant vessels of various sizes up to 5,000 tons, and for further developments of the heavy industries. Early in March it was learned that the Commonwealth was pressing the British Government to release a large quantity of aluminium for making machinery in Australia. Plant ordered in 1939, however, had been requisitioned by the British Government and required replacing.

Lord Gowrie, Governor-General of Australia, when opening the Federal Parliament at Canberra on April 17, pointed the moral to be drawn from the German invasion of Denmark and Norway—that the fate of all small nations depended on a conclusive victory for the Allied arms.

The unhappy and tragic example of the Low Countries, though feared, was yet to come, with its far-reaching consequences for the Allies; but in Australia, under the statesmanlike leadership of Mr. Menzies, there was already a clear-sighted understanding of the situation, and this greatly helped the punctuality and effectiveness of Australian contributions. A further example of Mr. Menzies’ grasp of wide issues was his appeal to Italy when he inaugurated, on April 29, a new
Australian broadcast in Italian from Sydney. Pleading for better understanding, he asked Italians if, with their traditions of civilization, brutal force alone were to be permitted to reign henceforth.

In the middle of April reinforcements (mainly trained technicians) arrived for the Royal Australian Air Force squadron which had come to England the previous Christmas. Figures issued to London on April 17 showed that Australia was going to train an air force personnel of 28,000. The Australian Navy personnel was 11,000. The Second Australian Imperial Force, for overseas service, was being expanded to an army corps of 48,000. New Zealand was already maintaining two cruisers and had raised an army division for service overseas, while its air force had already been more than troubled since the outbreak of war.

The Canadian air force had been increased by nearly 14,000, and provision was being made for a total personnel of more than 30,000. In South Africa the strength of the Union forces had totalled more than 50,000.

Besides the great Dominions, other units of the Commonwealth continued the tale of cheerfully made contributions. Zealous and vigorous Southern Rhodesia decided to introduce conscription, as announced by the Governor at the opening of the Rhodesian Parliament on April 24. The first contingent of the Rhodesian Territorial Forces arrived at Suez to join the Allied forces in the Middle East at the end of April. The S. Rhodesian Government had decided to contribute £1,500,000 a year to cover expenses of the Rhodesian military and air forces, and the first of the three air squadrons offered to Britain the previous autumn had now completed its training and was ready for service.

Many more gifts from Indian rulers and simple African tribes were made, and a remarkable demonstration was that of the Jirga, or gathering, of tribesmen from the Khyber Pass region at the end of March. It was reported from Peshawar that the eagerness of these Mahomedan tribes to assist the British Government in the prosecution of the war was strengthened by gratification at the Anglo-Turkish alliance. The spokesman of the Jirga declared they were prepared to fight against Soviet Russia if Turkey, Afghanistan or Iran were threatened. They also resolved to do nothing to help Germany or Russia. At the Easter week-end, besides Dominion soldiers, sailors and airmen, British people at home had the opportunity of seeing Indian Mahomedan troops, some of whom were stationed at a garrison town in the Northern Command. They wore khaki uniforms, had pay and conditions similar to those of the European troops, and were at the camp to relieve soldiers in training in the Pioneer Corps section dealing with loading and victualling.

It was announced on April 11 that the Straits Settlements had agreed to make a further £1,000,000 gift towards the cost of the war, in addition to a similar sum given a year previously for Imperial defence. There were also further contributions from the Sultans of the Federated Malay States, and the total financial contribution to date from the Federated and the Unfederated States of Malaya during twelve months now amounted to £3,750,000. War taxation was expected to yield over all Malaya another £1,750,000 a year.

Thus both in a military sense and economically the Empire in all its diverse ramifications had during the first eight months of the war prepared itself for the large-scale hostilities; to come—which were in fact now beginning with the brutal German irruption into Scandinavia.
DENMARK AND NORWAY UNDER THE NAZI HEEL

With the usual lack of provocation and absence of any declaration of war, Germany invaded Denmark and Norway in the early hours of April 9, 1940. We give here a selection from many proclamations issued by the heads of the outraged countries, and two short extracts from statements by the British Prime at the beginning and at the end of Hitler’s latest act of aggression.

HERR STAUDING, PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK, IN A SPEECH IN THE DANISH PARLIAMENT, APRIL 9, 1940:

With grave sorrow the country has received the news of today’s events. We have been pursuing a policy which is as limited as its opportunities. Last night, however, we learned that the Danish-German frontier had been crossed by German forces. German troops have invaded our capital, and the Government had to accept the German demands for the admission of German troops into Denmark.

Germany has assured us that she has no intention of violating Denmark’s independence and territorial integrity. Our purpose is to save our country and people, and to save the German demands for the admission of German troops into Denmark.

Our people will undoubtedly realize the necessity of the Government’s attitude as laid down in the Royal Proclamation, while the Government will be aware of its responsibility in only Denmark and nothing but Germany which matters now.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, IN A SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, APRIL 9:

GREAT BRITAIN has today invaded Denmark and Norway.

Even since the beginning of the present war she has attempted to dominate Scandinavia and to control both the political and economic policy of the Scandinavian countries. The German Government has claimed and exercised the right to make public statements, and particularly Scandinavian ships on the seas around this country by all the means in their power, but at the same time they have insisted upon the strictest observance of the rules of neutrality wherein they would provide some advantage to them, as they did in Norwegian waters.

The Allies then decided that they could not indefinitely in this state of affairs, and, having given notice to the Norwegian Government that they removed the right to be treated as neutral states as necessary to destroy the balance thus weighted against them, they halted men in Norwegian waters, so as to prevent the unimpeded passage of German troops through them, while in no way interfering with normal Norwegian trade.

It is asserted by the German Government that their invasion of Norway was a reprisal for the action of the Allies in Norwegian territorial waters. This statement, of course, is misleading. It was not a declaration of war, but an act of aggression. The information is now coming to hand clearly indicates that it was not only planned, but was already in operation before the news was made known in Norwegian waters.

It remains to say that we were once more the Norwegian Government in view of the German invasion of their territory. His Majesty’s Government have decided forthwith to extend their full aid to Norway.

HERH NÝGAARDVOLD, NORWEGIAN PRIME MINISTER, IN A PROCLAMATION, APRIL 11:

The German Government has asked the King to appoint a Norwegian Government, appealing the confidence of Germany and dominated by the Puchter. The King has not yielded to the German demand, as acceptance of which would have transformed Norway into a German satellite. The Nygaardvold Government, which has led the country for five years in collaboration with the Storting, is still the only legal Government. It is now appealed to the entire Norwegian people, asking for assistance in its efforts to maintain the legal administration, to preserve the constitutional laws and liberty and independence of Norway.

Germany has committed against Norway an act of brutality. The German troops have invaded our country with bombs and other means of destruction, making a serious attack on the life of a small people who only desire to live in peace. The Norwegian Government is convinced that the entire civilized world condones this act of violence.

The future of Norway is perhaps in sombre colours and the invaders can certainly carry out great destruction, but the Government is sure that a new future of freedom will emerge for the country. Consequently it calls upon the entire Norwegian people to retain the country’s traditions and liberty and continue the struggle to that end, faithful to the great ideals which have inspired the progress of our country for centuries.

KING HAAKON, IN A PROCLAMATION TO THE PEOPLE, APRIL 15:

In this time of trial, the hardest that any people and my country have had to endure for a hundred years, I address an urgent appeal to all Norwegian men and women to do their utmost to save the freedom and independence of our beloved country.

Our country has been subjected to a lightning attack by a nation with which we always maintained friendly relations. The power and ascendancy has not restrained from bombing peaceful people in cities and towns. Women and children are subjected to death and inhuman sufferings. The situation is such that I cannot tell you today where in Norway the Crown Prince and the Government reside.

I thank all those who today, together with me and the Government, held out to defend Norway’s independence, and I ask you to remember all those who have given their lives for the fortune of the Fatherland. God save Norway!

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, IN A STATEMENT TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAR 7:

At this moment I would say to any who may be drawing hastily conclusions from the fact that for the present the surprise of the Norwegian Resistance has been in short, that the Norwegian government in exile has merely concluded a single phase, in which it is safe to say that if we have not achieved our objective, neither have the Germans achieved theirs, while their losses are far greater than ours. We have not yet allowed Norway to become merely a side-show, but neither are we going to be trapped into such a dispersal of our forces as would leave us desperately weak at the vital centre.

KING HAAKON AND THE NORWEGIAN GOVERNMENT, IN A PROCLAMATION TO THE NORWEGIAN PEOPLE, JUNE 10:

The Norwegian troops, which, during two months fighting, showed courage and bravery, have not enough ammunition or fighter aircraft to carry on the struggle against the German supremacy, but Norwegians can take part in the struggle on other fronts.

To prevent the destruction of the yet intact parts of the country, the King and the Government decided to follow the advice of the High Command and temporarily to give up the struggle inside the country and remove it to the outside, continuing to strive for the recovery of the country’s liberty and rights.

Although we are not vanquished we have given up resistance in order not to destroy the whole of North Norway. We must use the situation from the point of view of the Allies and the revolutionary in the Western Front. Where the fate of the world is now being decided. Every man and every woman is needed there to check the war machine. Only after every avenue had been explored was the decision taken that the King and the Government should leave the country to watch over Norway’s interests during the war.
OSLO UNDER NAZI DOMINATION

The photographs in this page deal with the German occupation of Oslo and show:
above, left, German soldiers guarding the transmission mast of the radio station;
above, right, a Nazi and a Norwegian soldier on duty at the entrance to the Norwegian House of Parliament;
left, official seals affixed to the doors of the British Legation;
below, a German guard outside the Royal Castle.

War came to Scandinavia with dramatic suddenness. It is true that for weeks and months there had been lowering clouds on the horizon, and the roll of thunder, the flash of lightning, seemed to be drawing ever nearer. But when April

foe's dependence on the imported ore for his war effort, were resolved to do everything possible to stop the flow.

After much discussion the matter was brought to a head early in April, when in a joint note France and Britain informed Norway and Sweden that they could not longer tolerate the present situation, which means that Germany receives from Norway and Sweden important war materials, and that Germany benefits from advantages in those countries to the disadvantage and danger of the Allied powers, and that therefore they reserved the right to take such steps as they deemed necessary in the circumstances. On April 8 this decision was translated into action. Just before 6 o'clock that morning the British and French Ministers in Oslo delivered a further note to Professor Koht, the Norwegian Foreign Minister, which stated, in effect, that the Allied Governments had given instructions for mines to be laid in certain areas along the Norwegian coast. [A fuller account of this action is given in Chapter 81.]

Now events followed events with bewildering rapidity. Less than twenty-four hours after Allied mine layers had dropped mines at three places off Norway's western coast—at Stadthagen, Bud, and West Fjord—small but sufficient bodies of German troops and marines were landed in the half-light of early morning on April 9, at Bergen, Trondheim, Stavanger, Kristiansand, and even far distant Narvik, from ships which had left Germany several days before and which, disguised as peaceful merchantmen, had been lying in readiness at the quaysides. In every case the landing was made with quick and complete success. At the appointed moment the hatches were flung open, and from the holds poured forth gangs of men armed to the teeth, with the aid of numerous sympathizers in the ports, quickly, overpowered what little resistance the local authorities were able to make.

While the ports were being seized German troops and warships moved against Oslo, the Norwegian capital, and the world's first intimation of the new war was contained in a message dispatched in the early morning of April 9 to the U.S.A. State Department in Washington by the American minister in Oslo, Mrs. J. Bordent Harriman, which read that Professor Koht had informed her that the Norwegians had fired on four German warships coming up Oslo Fjord, and that Norway was thus at war with Germany.

The landings, indeed, had begun as early as 3 a.m., but it was not until two hours later that Professor Koht was visited by the German Minister in Oslo who demanded that Norway should place itself under German demands for military administration and should take no steps to oppose the occupation which had already begun. He attempted to justify his demands by the assertion that his Government had infallible evidence that Britain and France had planned to seize Norway and that therefore Germany was entitled to do everything in her power to forestall
them. On receipt of this ultimatum the Norwegian Cabinet met, and after a short deliberation they announced that Norway could not submit to the German demands and ordered general mobilization.

It was too late, however, to organize any effective resistance: the invader was already at the very gates of the capital. At 2 a.m. on that fateful morning the commander of three Norwegian warships, at Horten, the naval base on the west side of Oslo Fjord, had been handed an order purporting to bear the signature of Professor Koht, requiring him to allow the German warships then coming up the fjord to pass his batteries unmolested. As directed, the commander held his fire, but unfortunately for the Nazis there was no ship, the cruiser-mindeder "Olav Trygveaas," which did not receive the faked order, and when she saw the German ships approaching in the early morning light her captain opened fire—with the result that one of the German warships, later claimed by the Norwegians to be the cruiser "Fridtjof," was hit and sunk. The rest of the flotilla kept on, and after negotiating the narrows at Drobak—where the mines had all been rendered harmless by a traitor who had cut off the electricity from the power-house—appeared in the vicinity of Oslo and landed contingents of troops and marines. At the same time Nazi troops carrying planes landed at Korsløk, the airport just outside the city, while other planes roared above the homeland as if to terrify the populace with an exhibition of aerial might and menace.

Oslo was already doomed, though few of her people realized it as yet. Hour by hour the advancing Nazis drew near, encountering no resistance on their way, so dazed and befuddled was the defense. At 2:30 in the afternoon their advance-guard, a mere handful of men, though heavily armed, marched up the main boulevard, and as they came the Norwegian police cleared a way for them through the crowds of curious and excited spectators. General von Falkenhayn headed the procession of German regulars, in columns of three, and as he went by he returned the salutes of Nazi sympathizers.

"It was a thin, unbelievable short column," wrote Mr. Leland Stowe, an eminent American journalist who was the first to tell the world the full story of Oslo's amazing capture. "It required only six or seven minutes to march past. It was composed only of two incomplete battalions—simply less than 1,500 men in all. Norway's capital of nearly 300,000 inhabitants was being occupied by a German force of approximately 1,500 men." There was not a kiss, not a jest, not even a noticeable tear on any woman's face. Not a hand or a voice was raised against the invader; surprise ruled supreme.

Swiftly the invaders carried out the plans prepared with great precision.
NAZIS RULE THE ROOST IN OSLO

Above: General von Falkenhorne, commander-in-chief of the German Army in Norway. Top right, German officers arriving in Oslo by aircraft. Right, one of the German army bands which played incessantly in the capital during the first days of the Nazi occupation, and distracted the minds of the inhabitants from the important events happening elsewhere. Below, some of the German heavy tanks rumbling through the streets.

Photos: Planet News / Associated Press; Hepworth
DEFENCELESS DENMARK WAS AN EASY PREY

Above, German motorized detachments passing through the Danish town of Husum, in Jutland. Rightly horses being landed by German troops at the Danish port of Korsør, on Zealand Island. Below, German soldiers-troops in the street of Copenhagen, occupied by the Nazis during the morning of April 9, 1940.

Photo: Associated Press; Reproduction: Authors.
long before. All the key places in the capital were seized—Parliament, the City Hall, the University, the railway stations, the aerodromes (where there was, by exception, some little fighting)—and while the troops completed their tasks the German bands they had so thoughtfully brought with them played martial and jolly music and so kept the Osloans in good humour and unsuspecting. Only on the next day did they emerge from their bewilderment, and then it was too late. They found themselves unarmed in the midst of ever-increasing numbers of the invaders rushed to the scene by ship and plane; they learnt that King Haakon and his ministers had only just managed to escape capture—perhaps they were not informed that at that very moment they were being harassed through the snows to the north by Nazi airmen—and that a new government had been installed in Oslo, headed by Major Vidkun Quisling, leader of the Norwegian Nazi Party—who for his part in this day was destined to give his name to all other similar traitors.

On the same day as the German landings in Norway other detachments—reported to number some 40,000 men—were employed in the invasion and subjugation of Denmark. The advanced troops crossed the frontier from Schleswig at 4.30 in the morning of April 9, and little more than an hour sufficed to convince the Danish authorities that resistance would not only be impotent but quite useless. German motorized and armoured columns, sweeping across the Danish frontier from Schleswig, pushed on rapidly through Jutland, seized the port of Esbjerg, and by the afternoon had arrived at the little country's northernmost point.

At the same time other detachments were landed on the islands of Funen, Falster, and Zealand. Yet another large body of German troops crossed the Baltic to Copenhagen, where they arrived just as dawn was breaking. While aeroplanes were roaring above the capital dropping on the heads of the amazed people leaflets announcing the completion of the invasion, German troops occupied the Citadel and the broadcasting station, and by 8 a.m. the whole of Copenhagen was in their hands. "There was little or no resistance," declared General Kaupisch; "the Danes had only ten killed and a few wounded, the Germans one killed and ten wounded." The Danish Minister of Defence, however, stated later in a broadcast that there had been fighting at several places in South Jutland, and country, and in view of the occupation makes the following statement: German troops here in this country have established liaison with the Danish armed forces, and it is the duty of the population to refuse from any resistance to these troops. The Danish Government will attempt to give the Danish people and country safety against the unhappy results of a state of war, and it calls upon the population to adopt calm and controlled conduct. May peace and order rule the land, and may all who have to deal with officials assume a loyal attitude."

Following the Premier's appeal came one from King Christian.

"Under conditions so serious for our Fatherland, it is, 'I can upon you all, in cities and is the country, to assume a completely correct and worthy attitude, since every thoughtless action or statement can have the most serious consequences. God save you all! God save Denmark!"

In an attempt to justify the murder of yet another of her neighbours, which suffered from the double misfortune of being free and weak Germany declared that the invasion had been undertaken only to forestall a British attack on its neutrality. Such a claim can have had as small existence in Denmark as the similar claim advanced in the case of Norway.

In an attempt to justify the murder of yet another of her neighbours, which suffered from the double misfortune of being free and weak Germany declared that the invasion had been undertaken only to forestall a British attack on its neutrality. Such a claim can have had as small existence in Denmark as the similar claim advanced in the case of Norway.

So, after an independent existence of a thousand years and more, the kingdom of Denmark was swept into the orbit of the Nazi Reich. King Christian was allowed to keep his title and his palace and Parliament remained in being, but the newspapers and every other organ of public opinion were brought under the supervision of the Nazi censors.

Denmark as the home of a free and enlightened democracy was no more; if she had her place on the map of Europe, it was as a German tributary whose chief importance was as a farm for the production of butter and bacon for the Nazis' breakfast tables.

Now the scene of interest shifts again to Norway. For several days the invaders were enabled to continue their penetration unmolested save by the opposition of the Norwegian heroes who were mobilized as fast as the exceedingly difficult conditions of the country and the Arctic weather permitted. The main Norwegian army assembled east of Oslo in the region of Kongsvinger,
and the ships conveying troops and supplies were also exposed to constant attacks by the Allied navies. In the course of these operations Hitler's navy suffered "imparable mutilation," as M. Reynaud phrased it; many of the ships were large and some having been sunk or heavily damaged in the course of actions in the Skagerrak and off the Norwegian coast (see Chapter 81).

But meanwhile the Allies had not been inactive. On the day of invasion Mr. Chamberlain had promised Norway "full aid" in the closest collaboration with the French, and on April 15 the Admiralty and War Office issued a joint communiqué which read: "The British forces have now landed at several points in Norway." Few details were vouchsafed of the new Expeditionary Force, but it was understood that it was but in those days when from the aerodromes in the occupied territory and from those in Denmark and northern Germany her warplanes operated with devastating effect against the Allied troops.

From these landings it was clear that the Allied objective was Trondheim, well described as the gateway of central Norway. But the town was already held in considerable force by the Germans under General Weiss, and General von Falkenholt was not slow in dispatching strong reinforcements from Oslo. These made their way northwards along the two great parallel valleys, the Gudbrandsdal and Osterdal, in an effort to prevent the junction of the Allied troops to the south of Trondheim. The mechanised columns

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**NORWAY'S TRAITOR AND NORWAY'S KING**

Majer Vidkun Quisling (top left), the Norwegian Nazi leader, enjoys the unsavoury reputation of having given his name to a despicable brand of traitor. Elsewhere (above), to which King Haakon and his staff fled, was bombed by the Nazis. Right, King Haakon of Norway (left) is seen in northern Norway with his son, Crown Prince Olaf, shortly before coming to England.

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but against the speedily reinforced German troops in Oslo it was unable to make any headway. Soon both sides of the fjord were in the occupation of the invader, and the Norwegians were pressed back against the Swedish frontier or compelled to retreat to the north in the direction of Hamar and Elverum. Here for a short time they made a stand, though both towns were heavily bombed by Nazi planes. On the coast, too, the Germans extended their hold, although their new bases, Stavanger in particular, were raided time and again by planes of the R.A.F. and of the Fleet Air Arm.

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composed of British and French units whose assembly in British ports had been begun within a few hours of the opening of Hitler's Scandinavian adventure. The principal landings were made north and south of Trondheim, at Namua and Aandalsnes, respectively, and in these ports—if such they can be called, for in reality they were little more than stopping-places for the small local steamers—the Allied soldiers struggled ashore and endeavoured to land all the ponderous equipment of modern war, while exposing all the time to a terrific air offensive. Never, indeed, did Germany's air superiority show to better advantage.
WITH THE GERMAN LUFTWAFFE IN OCCUPIED NORWAY

On the left, men of the German Air Force are seen resting at the airport of Stavanger, Norway, just after the occupation. This aerodrome was the object of heavy attacks by the R.A.F. In circle is the Interior of one of the German troop-carrying aircraft, which rushed reinforcements into Norway. Bottom, a frozen lake at Ireneset, Norway, used as a makeshift aerodrome by the German Air Force. The photograph was taken from an R.A.F. machine.

ALLIED EXPEDITIONARY FORCE FOR NORWAY

Above, British transports arriving in a snowbound Norwegian fjord: centre is the liner ‘Empress of Australia.’ The anti-aircraft guns of an accompanying destroyer can be seen on the right. Left, French troops embarking en route for Norway. Below, a Nazi airman, captured in Norway, under French guard.

Photos, Service Cinémématographique de la Marine
BRITISH LEADERS IN THE NORWEGIAN CAMPAIGN

1. Major-General Carton de Wiart, V.C., who commanded one of the landing parties in Central Norway, and occupied Hamar and Elverum on April 20.

2. Brigadier H. de R. Morgan, in charge of British troops at Aalesund.


Photos: Associated Press; L.N.A.; Lafayette; G.P.U.

The invaders swept aside the ill-armed Norwegian opposition, and occupied Hamar and Elverum on April 20.

Meanwhile, the Allies had endeavoured to advance beyond the coast. Immediately on landing at Namso, Brigadier C. G. Phillips moved south in the direction of Tonnheims, but at Steinkjer, Steinkjer, some 30 miles from the city, he was held up by a greatly superior enemy force, while at the same time his flank was bombarded by German warships which had come up the fjord. According to Mr. Leland Stowe, the British force engaged consisted of "one battalion of Territorials, and one battalion of the King's Own Royal Light Infantry, totalling fewer than 1,500 men," whose "service averaged only a year," and who were "dumped into Norway's deep snows, quagmires and slush without a single anti-aircraft gun, without one squadron of supporting aircraft, and without a single piece of field artillery, to face crack German regulars, most of whom were veterans of the Polish campaign." After four days the little force of--again quoting Mr. Stowe--"inexperienced and incredibly under-armed British troops were decisively defeated."

The American journalist's account was challenged in some particulars by the War Office. "The facts are," read a communiqué issued on April 23, "that an advanced detachment of a larger force pushed forward towards Trondheim from the direction of Namso, the troops of the 49th (West Riding) Division, which had been landed at Aalesund on April 18 and 19, and ordered them to push down the Gudbrandsdal, to give what aid they could to the Norwegian forces, who were endeavouring to hold up the enemy at Lillehammer. These battalions were, however, shortly involved in the Norwegian retreat, and the effective British advance did not extend beyond Domnas, a vital railway junction some hundred miles south-west of Trondheim. Here the British troops put up a determined and gallant resistance, inflicting heavy losses upon the enemy. From Domnas they endeavoured to advance further south in the direction of Namso, but were again held up by strong German forces."

CAPTURED BRITISH IN NORWAY

Below, British soldiers taken prisoner during the fighting in Norway are seen with their Nazi captors somewhere near Lillehammer, a town about 40 miles north of Oslo, where Norwegian troops held up the Germans until forced to retreat owing to the enemy's superior strength.

Photos: International Graphic Press.
move along the railway to Storcen, 30 miles south of Trondheim, but by now the Germans had succeeded in occupying both of the great valleys, and on April 30 the Faroer issued an Order of the Day which announced in jubilant fashion that "In an indomitable advance German troops have today established a connection by land between Oslo and Trondheim." At the same time a small armed force of the enemy had made the ventureous crossing of the mountains west of the Glomma and were threatening to overwhelm the British troops strung out between Storcen and Domtasse.

By now it was obvious that the situation of the Allies, never very favourable, had taken a definite turn for the worse. Not all the daring and enterprise of the British airmen could compensate for the difficulty of having to operate from bases 400 miles away on the other side of the North Sea; not all the energy and dash of the Royal Navy, so well exemplified in the two battles of Narvik on April 10 and 13, could stop the flow of sea-borne reinforcements from Germany; not all the grit and enterprise of the few thousand Allied troops could defeat an enemy readily reinforced by land and by the air. The junction of the German garrison at Trondheim with their fellows who had landed at Oslo made it more and more unlikely that the city could be taken by the Allies with the forces at their disposal. Towards the end of April, then, thedecision was made to withdraw from central Norway.

The news of the evacuation came as a thunderclap to the British people, who had been bungled up by the most extravagant tales of victory on land and sea, received through neutral sources of which Stockholm was the most actively inventive—tales, moreover, which had been reproduced at large in the British press without receiving any correction from official circles beyond a caution from the B.B.C. to the effect that some of the stories should be accepted with considerable reserve. The announcement of the evacuation was made by Prime Minister to the House of Commons on the afternoon of May 2. Reviewing the situation in which the Allies found themselves in Norway, Mr. Chamberlain said that some days before it had become evident that owing to the German local air supremacy it would be impossible to land the artillery and tanks necessary to enable our troops to withstand the enemy drive from the south. Accordingly, any idea of taking Trondheim from the south had been abandoned, and the troops were being withdrawn from that area and transferred elsewhere. "Thanks to the powerful forces which the Navy was able to bring to bear," he went on, "and the determination and skillful dispositions of General Paget, in command of the British land forces in the area, backed by the splendid courage and tenacity of the troops, we have now withdrawn the whole of our forces fromAndalasen under the very noses of the German aeroplanes, without, as far as I am aware, losing a single man in the operation."

That same night the whole of the French and British forces in the sector north of Trondheim were similarly re-embarked at Namsos, again with complete success. Large quantities of stores had to be abandoned, but the loss of life in what is generally regarded as one of the most difficult of military operations was inconceivable, having regard to the fact that throughout the German planes were in action and the embarkation was carried out from places which had been bombéd into ruin and were still ablaze.

Thus, after a mere three weeks' campaign, the Allied Expeditionary Forces was brought back to Britain. They were not driven out, but as General Frendt made plain when he met them on their return, they were ordered out. Mr. Chamberlain, in his speech in the House of Commons on May 7, paid a high tribute to the troops who had been engaged. "Whether in hard fighting," he said, "or in stoic endurance or in quick and skilful movement, faced as they were by superior force and superior equipment, they distinguished themselves in every respect. Man for man they were superior to their foes."

After the withdrawal, so entirely unexpected and so deeply disappointing, came the inquest. In the Press and in Parliament there were the most outspoken criticisms of the conception and the conduct of the campaign. Mr. Chamberlain pleaded that it was far
A HANDFUL OF NAZI TROOPS CAPTURED OSLO

Above, a tender laden with steel-helmeted German troops is convoying them from their transport into Oslo Harbour during the Nazi invasion of Norway. In the background can be seen a German cruiser of the 'Hippo' class. The capture of Oslo by the Nazis was facilitated by the treachery of 'Quislings' within its gates.

Photo, Keystone
NAMSOS: A VANISHED TOWN

After repeated bombing raids from April 19 to May 2 by German aircraft, the small town of Namsos became a scene of complete devastation, as this photograph shows. Namsos is a port on Namsos Fjord on the west coast of Norway, about 320 miles north of Oslo, and was used as an Allied base.
too soon to strike the Norwegian balance sheet, for the Norwegians themselves were continuing the fight, a large part of Norway was not in German hands, and the Norwegian King and Government were still on Norwegian soil. He denied what his critics asserted with much vehemence, that there had been any delay in sending troops to Norway, and attributed the failure to take Trondheim to the unexpectedly rapid advance of the Germans.

But the Premier’s explanations were not sufficient to allay the storm of criticism. “It is a shocking story of ineptitude which ought never to have happened,” declared Admiral Sir Roger Keyes in the House of Commons on May 7, and this forthright denunciation by the hero of Zeebrugge was echoed on every hand.

For a few weeks the war in Norway dragged on. The Norwegians continued their resistance in the central regions, but they were compelled to retreat before the northward-moving forces of the enemy. Henceforth the principal centre of interest was the Narvik region, where on the fjord and at various points along the railway to Sweden German detachments still maintained a stout resistance. For long the capture of Narvik was confidently expected by the British public, but it was not until May 29 that it was announced that “Information has

WAR MARS THE BEAUTY OF AANDALSNES

Columns of smoke are rising from the little Norwegian port of Aandalsnes, from which British forces were successfully withdrawn after it was found impossible to capture Trondheim, owing to lack of tanks and heavy artillery and the growing strength of the German forces.

(Photo, “Daily Mirror”)

ARCTIC NORWAY

The map above shows the region of Norway lying north of that covered by the relief map in page 794-795. As will be noticed, Narvik, for which a desperate struggle continued for some time, lies well within the Arctic Circle. Another map of Scandinavia is given on page 186.
A GALLANT BAND RETURNS

After the British troops had been successfully withdrawn from Norway, they were inspected, on their return to a British port, by General Sir Edmund Ironside. One officer, it will be noticed, is wearing a pair of slippers.

Photo: Keystone

been received this morning that Narvik was captured last night by Allied forces and that Fagernes and Fornebot, hamlets east of Narvik, are also in our hands." But, even so, the victors did no more than destroy the works in the harbour so as to render the port unusable by the Germans for many months to come.

The Battle of France was raging, and so from Narvik, too, on June 10, the Allies withdrew, and Norway was left to the conquerors. King Haakon and the principal members of his Government were carried across the sea in a British warship and arrived in London on the same day. The Norwegian force in north Norway was ordered to cease hostilities at midnight on June 9, but a proportion of the Norwegian naval forces were successfully with-
DURING THE ADVANCE UPON NARVIK

In the circle, top left, a French patrol is advancing over a single-track railway in the neighbourhood of Narvik. Above, men of the French Foreign Legion have mounted their trench mortars on a British destroyer. Below, left, a pathetic scene after an air raid on Narvik. Residents are standing by their belongings while houses blaze in the background. In circle below, flames rise into the Arctic night from the village of Narvik, during the Allied drive on Narvik.

WHEN THE ISLAND OF SYLT WAS BOMBED

On March 18, 1940, the German base at Hornum, on the island of Syd, was heavily bombed in a raid by 59 machines of the R.A.F. Above, a house at Hornum, part of the ruins in Denmark, damaged by blast from British bombers. Below, a huge bomb returns from Hornum. In circle, Wing-Commander W.E. Staton, a veteran pilot of the 1914-18 war, who won the D.S.O. for his gallantry and leadership in this raid.

Photos, British official; Crown Copyright; Associated Press; Phelan News.
Chapter 79

THE INTENSIFIED AIR WAR OF MARCH, APRIL AND MAY, 1940


Air war underwent a continuous intensification during the three months March to May, 1940. From sporadic raids by German bombers on British shipping, aerial action developed until it reached a peak of intensity at the time of the Dunkirk evacuation. Then the full might of the Allied and German air forces clashed in a relatively restricted area and aircraft casualty rates soared as the fighting became ever more violent.

March saw the close of the Russo-Finnish campaign, and the first large-scale air bombing raid by the Royal Air Force. Soviet bombers had been increasing their efforts to damage the Finnish defences, and on March 2 a report from Helsinki described a raid in which about one hundred Russian bombers flew over the city and residents had to stay four and a half hours in the air raid shelters. The purpose of the Soviet bombers was to disorganize the Finnish rear. Railway lines were attacked and the hydro-electric plant at Imatra was heavily bombed. The Russian airmen were said to be working more systematically than they had been doing in the earlier part of the war. They were also said to be using closer formations on their raids in order that better protection could be afforded by gunfire.

At the same time the Finns were putting up a better resistance, partly with the aid of Gloster Gladiator biplane fighters which had been delivered to them from Great Britain. France also aided the Finns by sending them aircraft, and South Africa had released some Gauntlets. Allied aid did not succeed, however, in influencing the outcome of the Russo-Finnish war, and on March 15 peace negotiations began.

The final Finnish war communiqué was issued on March 13, and mentioned the bombing by Soviet airmen of Rovaniemni and Kemijärvi.

While the Russo-Finnish conflict was drawing to a close the war between the Allies and Germany was increasing in intensity. The Germans continued ruthlessly to attack shipping anywhere round the coasts of Britain, regardless of what function it was fulfilling. One of the most remarkable instances was that launched by a German bombing aeroplane on the British India steamer “Domala” (8,441 tons) in the English Channel in the early morning of March 2. As related in page 726, the “Domala” had sailed from Antwerp with 143 British Indian subjects released by Germany. It may be presumed, therefore, that the Germans knew approximately where the ship would be at any given time. Sweeping down, with its navigation lights on, the German bomber (a Heinkel 111) attacked by the light of a warning moon and dropped four bombs. The crew of the “Domala”, seeing the navigation lights, mistook the machines for British and did not open fire. Three bomb hits were obtained. Altogether about one hundred people, crew and passengers, lost their lives. A picture of the liner ablaze after this foul attack is printed in page 695.

The Royal Air Force continued its reconnaissance flights, and on March 8 it made the longest ones of the war up to that date. These were over western Poland, including Posen. Other places visited were the Ruhr, Cuxhaven, Nennstetten, Gießen, Heidelberg, Leipzig, Mannheim and Heidelberg. Vienna and Prague were later visited by reconnaissance machines.

British aircraft had not, however, launched any bombing attacks on land targets. They had bombed German ships on many occasions, but Allied policy had been to avoid aerial attack on land targets. It was a policy that had many critics, but it was firmly adhered to during this part of the war. The first sign of change came after March 17, when the Germans had made a strong attack on British warships in Scapa Flow and also dropped bombs on certain land targets. (Further details are given in page 726.) The German attack was cunningly mounted, the aircraft coming in at dusk so that they could have a good chance of getting away in the falling light while still enjoying enough visibility to identify their targets. Fourteen German bombers were concerned in this raid, and in their attacks on British warships at Scapa Flow, one of them got away with only one bomb hit by the Royal Navy’s swift action. The German airmen, though, did not escape without damage, and two of the bombers were shot down with all hands.

BOMBS ON THE ORKNEYS

A strong attack on British warships at Scapa Flow was made by German aircraft on March 17, 1940. Five cottages were damaged at Bridge of Waith, a small village on Loch Stromness in the Orkneys, and a demolished cottage is seen below. There were seven naval casualties.

Photo, Fox
FLEET AIR ARM SHOwed ITs WORTH IN NORWAY

Above, Skuas of the Fleet Air Arm in flight near their training station. This type did fine work in the Norway campaign. Left, oil storage tanks at Bergen set alight by British bombers on April 6th, after the Germans had occupied the port.

Below, H.M. aircraft carrier " Furious," seen in a fjord near Tromso. The flight deck is covered with melting ice, which made landing extremely difficult.

Photos: International News / Houghton & Central Press

On land targets they killed one civilian and wounded seven others, including two women. At Bridge of Wath, a small village on the Loch of Stromness in the Orkneys, five cottages were damaged. There were seven naval casualties. One enemy aircraft was shot down and another damaged.

The British response was immediate. On March 19 the Air Ministry announced that the R.A.F. had attacked the German base at Hornum, in the Island of Sylt, and had assured hits on sheds, oil tanks, dumps and barracks. The raid lasted about six hours, and was carried out by thirty Whitleys and twenty Hampden bombers. They dropped forty 500-lb. bombs, eighty-four of 250 lb., and well over a thousand incendiaries. "The weather was poor, with much fog," said a later official account, "but there was moonlight over the target." One of the leaders was the veteran pilot of the war of 1914-18, Wing-Commander W. Scaton. The attacks were made from different heights. The enemy searchlight and anti-aircraft gun activity was intense. A pilot reported that the shore of the Island of Sylt was lined with searchlights, which stood up in the night sky like a row of spears. They seemed to line up in this way before swinging in search
of the British machines, as it in accordance with a pre-arranged drill.

Towards the end of March there were numerous small engagements between British fighters and enemy bombers, seeking to damage British and neutral shipping. Many of the German bombers were brought down. One estimate of the losses of aircraft during the month was 5 British and 13 German. A German broadcast estimate of the total air losses was 537 Allied aircraft lost to 85 German.

The French pointed out that actual Allied losses were less than half the figure given, while German losses, fully confirmed, were nearly treble the figure given.

April opened with the appointment by Mr. Neville Chamberlain of Sir Samuel Hoare to be Secretary of State for Air in place of Sir Kingsley Wood. During the first week of the month, there were continued small aerial actions over the North Sea and in France. The Germans made a small raid on Scapa Flow. Most important, of course, was the reconnaissance which indicated that the Nazis were preparing for the move into Scandinavia. On April 4, in a flight over the Elbe estuary, our patrols saw German naval vessels and merchant ships moving northwards. A reconnaissance two days later disclosed the "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau," with other enemy naval units, in the harbours of N.W. Germany. On the night of the 6th, there was another recognition: our aircraft engaged in leaflet dropping reported that on the road from Hamburg to Lübeck they had seen a wide stream of motor vehicles flowing northwards with headlights blazing. Near Kiel there was intense shipping activity that night.

Twelve of our Blenheims on April 7 encountered and attacked a German cruiser and four destroyers at sea. A few minutes later our aircraft came up with the main body of the German Fleet, about 76 miles N.W. of the Horn Reef (off Jutland). The leaders of our Blenheims sent a radio message home, giving the enemy's position and course, but unfortunately this information never got through, and not till the Blenheims returned to base was it known that the German fleet was met. Wellington bombers sought out the enemy warships that afternoon, but were unsuccessful. Next day another attempt was made, with no better luck. On April 9, 12 Wellingtons and 12 Hampdens found them, by now in Bergen. At dusk they bombed the enemy and got two direct hits on a cruiser, which was sunk on the 18th in an attack made by 16 Skua of the Fleet Air Arm.

It was on April 9 that a communique of the German High Command announced that Denmark had been invaded by Germany at six points. Later the same day the Germans claimed that all bases of military importance in Norway were in German hands. The Royal Air Force went into action in full force and began a series of bombing raids which progressively increased in weight. First the raids were directed against enemy warships at such places as Bergen and Trondheim and then German-occupied aerodromes in Norway, and German were not discovered, but our aircraft bombed two other warships in Kristiansand South. Our Wellingtons and Hampdens were fiercely engaged by a swarm of Messerschmitts on the return journey and pursued for some 200 miles; ten of our bombers were lost, and the enemy later admitted that five of his fighters had been destroyed. Between April 10 and 21 Stavanger was bombed 16 times, and was also attacked a number of times by Coastal Command and Fleet Air Arm units. The raids went on afterwards until the close of the brief campaign.

The Luftwaffe turned its attention to British ships off the coast of Norway. Some destroyers were sunk, but a survey of the results suggested that capital ships were difficult to sink.
occupied aerodromes did not prevent the Luftwaffe from supporting the movements of German troops and hampering the movements of Allied troops.

Britain suffered from not having a good air base in Norway. Only long-range aircraft could be used, and it was not possible to send out high-performance, short-range fighters. The gallant R.A.F. attempt to establish a base was preceded by the landing in Norwegian fjords of parties of experts, brought by flying boats of the Coastal Command. Then a squadron of Gloster Gladiator biplanes fighters went out from England in an aircraft carrier. Fat out at sea they took off from the deck in the midst of a snowstorm and flew to the place that had been designated, a frozen lake at Lejrekelven, 40 miles south-east of Aamulven, where they all landed in the evening.

In an hour all the aircraft had been refuelled and were dispersed round the improvised aerodrome. Patrol began the next morning at three o'clock, and the first Heinkel was shot down an hour later. But Nazi aircraft incessantly bombed and machine-gunned the British squadron. One by one the Gladiators were destroyed. The pilots—some badly wounded, some burnt—fought on, and helped one another to get into the air any aircraft that could be made serviceable. By the end of the day their ammunition was exhausted. One pilot had had sixteen combats, and there had been forty sorties during the day. The German bombers attacked by our pilots numbered between eighty and ninety. On the improvised aerodrome were 132 bomb craters. Six enemy aircraft had certainly been shot down, and probably eight more. But the bombers won. On the next day only one Gladiator was serviceable, and the attempt had to be abandoned.

It was the beginning of the end of the Norway campaign. Without fighter air support Allied troops could not hold their ground against incessant bombing. The abortive campaigns led to outspoken criticisms in Parliament, and it was on the day (May 10) when Mr. Chamberlain, bowing to these criticisms, tendered his resignation that the foci of war swung to the West with the invasion of Holland and Belgium.

Using parachute troops on a scale never previously contemplated, the Germans rushed for the Netherlands airports. Parachutists were landed down from Junkers 52 three-engined transport aeroplanes whenever strategic points had to be captured and communications cut. The Germans bombed the Schipol aerodrome and the barracks at Amsterdam; parachute troops dropped at The Hague, at Delft, Zandvoort, the Hook, Ymuiden, Eindhoven and Dordrecht. Others captured the Waalhaven aerodrome outside Rotterdam. Before dusk on May 10 the enemy held four airfields in Fortress Holland, and could land troops from aircraft. Thus it fell to the R.A.F. to bomb Dutch airfields, airports, and even stretches of sandy foreshore, which the Germans had captured by airborne troops. The Luftwaffe had an enormous preponderance of machines, and in three days the Dutch Air Force was destroyed; during May 13 the last ten of its 248 aeroplanes were brought down in a gallant attack on the enemy then holding the Grebbe line. (See relief map, page 1519.)

Although enemy concentrations had been observable within the German frontier for months past the Allied Commander-in-Chief had refused to allow them to be bombed, for fear of casualties to the civilian population. Right up to the German invasion of the Low Countries this ban was maintained.

A simultaneous German invasion had taken place over the Belgian and Luxembourg borders and across the Maastricht area. The R.A.F. was called upon to delay the enemy's advance while Allied forces were brought into Belgium. It was also required to bomb enemy communications, with special attention to points where roads and railways crossed canals, or rivers. The key point on May 10-11 was the Maastricht region. Here in the city itself, were vital bridges over the Meuse; two miles away to the west, in Belgian territory, were equally important bridges over the Albert Canal. Allied sappers had wrecked two road bridges and a railway bridge in Maastricht, but the Germans threw a pontoon bridge across the Meuse and got their troops over. On the 19th they took the Kheis Enael fort with airborne troops.

On the 12th two bridges over the Canal were still destroyed and the Germans were pouring across them. Twelve Blenheims bombed the bridges and eight returned. Later that day six Battles attacked the crossings, the crews being chosen by lot since everyone had volunteered. Five were shot down and the sixth crashed inside Allied lines. One end of one bridge was demolished and both were put out of action for the time. Two of the crew of the leading Battle (Flying Officer Ronald Garland and Sergeant...
INVADERS FROM DUTCH SKIES
The surprise tactics of dropping large numbers of troops by parachute behind the fighting line aided the Nazis' success in invading the Low Countries. Here top, is a machine-gun post set up by German invaders after landing from the air; at the left another parachutist is resting by a Dutch farmhouse; below, left, adjusting gear and equipment after a safe drop. Bottom photo shows Nazi aircraft dropping supplies to advanced units.

Photos: British Official; Crown Copyright
Central Press
THey smashed bridges over the Albert Canal

The Germans were pouring over two undamaged bridges across the Albert Canal on May 13, and our bombers set out to stop them. First a squadron of Blenheims bombed the crossings, losing four machines out of twelve. Later that day six Battles, with crews chosen by lot, attacked the bridges and put them out of use. Flying Officer Ronald Garland (left) and Sergeant Gray, of the leading machine, were posthumously awarded the V.C.

To seize the opportunity created by the distraction of a bridge called for strong and immediate action on the part of the land forces in order to exploit and maintain the break. Otherwise only a short respite was gained and the enemy displayed by the bomber crews was rendered of little avail. This was what happened at Sedan. The bridges were broken, so were the French.

A review of Nazi air tactics is given in Chapter 92.

While the battle raged in the Low Countries Mr. Churchill, the new Prime Minister, was forming his Cabinet. As Secretary of State for Air he appointed Sir Archibald Sinclair; Captain Harold Balfour remained as Under-Secretary of State for Air.

Towards the end of May a statement was published in France to the effect that the Germans had lost 2,237 of all types of aircraft between September 1 and May 17. On the last day of May the German communiqué announced that the battle of Flanders and Artois was closing "with the annihilation of the British and French armies in that area." This was a boast which was not to be justified, for by a masterly operation, in which all three Services cooperated, nine-tenths of the B.E.F. were successfully got away. The story is told in later chapters.

WHERE GERMANS CROSSED THE MEUSE AT MAASTRICHT

The road bridges at (1) and the railway bridge (2) were worked by Allied sappers, but the Germans crossed the Meuse on a pontoon bridge (4) during May 10, 1940, and raced on to the Albert Canal crossings two miles westward. Enemy transport is seen packed at (3). Bombs dropped by our aircraft along the river are bursting at (2).

Photo, British Official : Crown Copyright
April 1, 1940. R.A.F. bomber attacks enemy patrol near North Sea. German Junkers 88 knocked down by British Boulton Pauls. Generalissimo War Measures Bill passed South African House of Assembly by 75 votes to 55.

April 2. German aircraft carry out attack on Scapa Flow. Bombs dropped but no damage done. One rubber balloon shot down. Three Hurricane fighters engage two Heinkel bombers 200 feet above sea. Birenschmitt shot down by Western Front. U-boat reported sunk off W. Scotland by patrol vessel.

April 3. First Coastal Defence fighter lost during engagement with Heinkel. Enemy bombers attack convoy but are driven off. Lord Ashdown appointed Governor-General of Canada. Mr. Churchill made head of Committee of Service Ministers.

April 4. R.A.F. bombed reconnaissance naval base at Wilhelmshaven; and attack warship there. R.A.F. flying boat encounters six Junkers over North Sea, shoots down one and damages another.

April 5. German aircraft attack again on Norwegian vessels off Norway coast, damaging four.

April 6. Norwegian ship "Navarra" torpedoed without warning in northern Norwegian waters. Two German "Flying Punishers" shot down.

April 7. R.A.F. bombs enemy airfields at Wiltonshorne and attack warship there. B.H.A. flying boat encounters six Junkers over North Sea, shoots down one and damages another.

April 8. Allied naval force prorogue to protect Norwegian coast. German submarines are now being attacked immediately in three places in Norwegian territorial waters. Norwegian coast is well defended. Two submarines sunk by British submarines in two days. Two accidents in each.


April 10. R.A.F. battleships attack German destroyers off Narvik. One enemy destroyer torpedoed and belching black smoke.


April 12. Second German aircraft attack on Scapa Flow. Bombs dropped on German destroyers off W. Scotland.


April 15. Admiral and War Office announce that British forces have landed at several points in Norway. British troops have occupied Narvik, Hamaroy, and Transkei.

April 16. Narvik now held by British Marines. R.A.F. make heavy bombing raid on Narvik, and in addition to ammunition shipped also sinks two cruisers off Bergen. Cruises "Larsen" and "Frisland" sunk.


April 19. Stockholm reports that Anglo-Norwegian and German forces have met in Trondheim sector. British forces have landed at Romsdal, southeast of Trondheim.

April 20. Three German aircraft shot down and others damaged during attack on British naval vessels. R.A.F. bomb aerodrome at Stavanger and Kristiansand.

April 21. British forces reported to be fighting in Oslo sector. R.A.F. bomb aerodrome at Stavanger and Aalborg. Four Messerschmidts shot down over Western Front.

April 22. British troops reported to have reached positions abandoned after German capture-attack. R.A.F. bomb five enemy air bases. Two enemy patrol vessels sunk north of Syll. Nazi aircraft successfully attempt to attack Scapa Flow during night.

April 23. British forces in Trondheim stated to have taken positions abandoned after German capture-attack. R.A.F. bomb five enemy air bases. Two enemy patrol vessels sunk north of Syll. Nazi aircraft successfully attempt to attack Scapa Flow during night.

April 24. British forces in Trondheim stated to have taken positions abandoned after German capture-attack. R.A.F. bomb five enemy air bases. Two enemy patrol vessels sunk north of Syll. Nazi aircraft successfully attempt to attack Scapa Flow during night.

April 25. Owing to increased enemy pressure Allied forces have withdrawn from positions near Lillesand. French destroyers sink two enemy patrol ships in Lillesand.

April 26. Allied troops have been heavily engaged south of Dombas and have had to make limited withdrawals. R.A.F. continues attacks on enemy bases in Aalborg and Denmark. All air forces destroyed in Norway and two over North Sea. Eight others damaged.

April 27. German attack near Krum, south-east of Dombas, driven off with heavy enemy loss. Air action against Allied lines of communication and bases.

April 28. War Office states that another German attack in Gunderland has been repelled; also that further disembarkation has been carried out at Andalsnes. Dombas attacked again and killed and Mochte.

April 29. Three more enemy supply ships reported sunk. Position in Gunderland unchanged. British stated to be in touch with enemy north of Stenske. Norwegian hospital ship "Brønd IV", heavily bombed by German planes.

April 30. Third German aircraft raid on Stavanger. Further minor advance in Dombas area. Further bombing along coast of Norway. R.A.F. bomb enemy air base at Fornebu. Heinkel bombers in flames at Christian and other aerodromes. Two civilians killed and 150 injured.
THEY WON UNDYING HONOUR IN THE FIRST BATTLE OF NARVIK

1. H.M.S. 'Hardy,' leader of the Second Destroyer Flotilla in its audacious attack on Narvik on April 16, 1940, was an Admiralty type leader with a displacement of 3,525 tons. After a magnificent fight she was forced to run aground.

2. Capt. B. A. W. Warburton-Lee, Commander of the British force, was posthumously awarded the V.C. for his conduct of the action.


4. Lieut.-Commander Maxwell kept the 'Hardy's' guns firing to the end.

5. Surgeon-Lieut. J. W. Donald and (6) Commanders H. F. H. Layman of the 'Hotspur' were awarded the D.S.C. for their daring, resource and devotion to duty.

Photo: Sport & General / Abraham / Friendly / Keystone / Central Press / Fox
Chapter 80
THE ROYAL NAVY GOES IN AT NARVIK

The Corridor to the Iron-Ore Port—Germans Land at Narvik—Second Destroyer Flotilla Goes In—'Hardy' Opens Attack on April 10—Captain Warburton-Lee Grieviously Wounded—'Hardy,' Disabled, is Run Aground—Second Battle of Narvik—Vice-Admiral Whitworth's Fleet—'Warspite' Navigates the Fjord—How Four Enemy Destroyers were Chased to their Doom in Rombaks Fjord—'Hardy's' Survivors Taken Off

As an unexpected result of the sudden German attack on Scandinavia described in Chapter 78 was the mosaic rise to fame of the lutherto little known Norwegian port of Narvik. It will now always be associated with a twofold British naval action, so determined and effective that it is worthy of any of the records which are preserved with such respect in the long history of the Royal Navy.

The importance of this desolate northern town in relation to the complex pattern of the Second Great War was dictated by its proximity to the prolific iron-ore mines of Kiruna and Gellivare in Sweden, and by its harbour facilities being ice-free at all seasons. Since the war began Germany had exploited this priceless source of valuable raw material via the railway linking the ore-fields with Narvik, and thence by sea down the narrows of illegal territorial waters to which Norway was too weak to deny access.

For long the gross abuse of this corridor had been as coarse grit in the smooth machinery of the Allied economic blockade, until on April 8, 1940, it was announced that sudden action had been taken and a number of minefields had to block it. Germany, however, had moved quicker, for in the early hours of April 9.

Situation at Narvik: a convoy of supply ships, escorted by destroyers and a U-boat, was already outside Narvik and about to seize the town.

To appreciate the situation at this time and the subsequent British counter-action, reference should be made to the maps in page 810. It will be seen that a sea approach to Narvik must be made up the sixty-mile-long and ever-narrowing West Fjord, and thence by a narrow channel through the hills, some fifteen miles long by two miles wide, into the land-locked waters of Ofot Fjord, towards the head of which lies the iron-ore port. Above and behind Narvik are the small, deep Rombaks and Heisingjord Fjords.

But on that chill April dawn the German attacking force did not find Narvik entirely undefended. Two coast-defence ships of the Royal Norwegian Navy, the 'Norge' and the 'Eidsvold,' under the command of Capt. Per Askel, which had cleared for action as early as 7 a.m. on April 8, stood guard against the invaders. Their task was plainly hopeless. The 'Eidsvold,' stationed outside the harbour entrance, was torpedoned and sunk before she could engage the German vessels, though the 'Norge' succeeded in opening fire and damaging two destroyers before meeting a like fate. Shortly afterwards the Germans entered the harbour and were quickly landing troops and equipment from the destroyers and supply vessels. Resistance in Narvik itself was soon smashed, largely in consequence of the treachery of Col. Sando, chief of the local Norwegian forces. The Germans established themselves in the town and proceeded to mount shore batteries on the surrounding hillsides.

The afternoon of that same Tuesday found the British Second Destroyer Flotilla on patrol down at the mouth of West Fjord. This little fighting unit, consisting of the flotilla leader 'Hardy' (five 4·7-in. guns) and the 'Hotspur,' 'Hospitie,' 'Havock' and 'Hunter' (four 4·7-in. guns each), was commanded by Capt. R. A. W. Warburton-Lee. Abruptly their routine duties were terminated by an Admiral order to carry out an attack on the enemy force in control of Narvik.

Capt. Warburton-Lee wasted no time, and at 4 p.m. wisely landed two of his officers at Tronoy—a Norwegian pilot station near the head of West Fjord—to secure all available information about the disposition of the Germans. Thus it was learned that Narvik was more strongly held than had at first been thought—that there were, in fact, six German destroyers larger and more powerful

THE INVADERS LAND AT NARVIK

German troops disembarking at the quayside on April 9, 1940. This interesting photograph, taken by one of the crew of the German destroyer 'Hansa Lüdemann,' was discovered on the vessel when she was eventually boarded by men of the 'Hero' in Rombaks Fjord on April 13. On the voyage to Narvik some of the German destroyers carried 500 soldiers in addition to their normal complement.

Photo: 'The Times'
WHERE THE BATTLES WERE FOUGHT

The panoramic view at the top gives a good idea of the appearance of Narvik Bay; the town itself is on the right. Old Fjord and the nature of the surrounding country are shown above, while on the left is seen the sea approach via West Fjord.

[Map of Narvik Bay and surrounding areas]

anticipation and efficient preparation on board the five British warships combined strangely with the anxiety felt by the thousands of sailors away in Whitehall. And then, in April, it was realized that the commander's intelligence was based on sound judgment. The American, the Adare, and the Warburton-Lee were the three Norwegian coast-defense ships which might also be in German hands (three were, of course, already out of action) and that they... thought the operation so hazardous that he alone must be the sole judge of whether to attack or not. "But whatever you do and whatever happens," they concluded, "we will support you." There can have been little doubt in their minds as to the reply. Back it came, "Going into action.

Snow was falling heavily and a faint ushered wind caused the men into writhing waves over the water as, at 3 o'clock on the Wednesday morning, five ships, black ships of war. "Hardy," "Hotspur," "Hostile," "Havock," and one, just after the start, when one destroyer nearly hit the shore.

But determination and maneuvering skill was still driving down when, leaving her four companions to patrolled outside, "Hardy" opened fire with her 4.5s as well. The German ships replied in kind; the thunder of their salvoes echoed and muffled in...
Heavy snow was still falling, reducing visibility at times to seventy yards. When "Hardy," turning out of Narvik Bay, almost immediately sighted three large German destroyers coming out against her from their anchorage in Rombacks Fjord. Capt. Warburton-Lee at once signalled his flotilla to head down Ofot Fjord and increase speed to 30 knots at the same time replying vigorously to the fierce fire concentrated on his ship by the treachery of the enemy force. Thus hotly engaged, "Hardy" began to lead her command down the fjord and in so doing came up against two more German destroyers lying right ahead. Undaunted still, she took them on as well.

And now a very intense barrage on the icy waters of Ofot Fjord: lowering clouds of smoke mingled with the blustering snow, while the neighbouring hills echoed once again with the barking thunder of the guns. Biv-biv-shells from the heavier weapons of the German warships showered round "Hardy," and almost at once she was hit. Fighting back hard, she still ploughed ahead, when a direct burst on her bridge reduced it to a shambles. Capt. Warburton-Lee, directing operations amidst the acrid fumes of high explosive and the welter of flying debris, was grievously wounded in the face and blown on to the deck below. All others with him on the bridge were killed or disabled save one—Paymaster-Lieut. G. I. Stannin, the captain's secretary—and he had his right foot put out of action.

The battle raged on, and into it still streaming fast—drew the badly damaged "Hardy," masterless.

But Paymaster-Lieut. Stannin was a man of action, resolute and quick of decision. Realising the extreme danger of the position, he somehow contrived to drag himself to the wheelhouse and find its shattered and its occupants dead, took the wheel himself, and so, pacing his way through a shell-hole, he steered the ship.

By now the German destroyers were pounding "Hardy" at almost point-blank range, but crippled as she was the fight went on, her remaining guns aflame, still keeping up a furious action by the First Lieutenant, Lieut.-Commander Maudell. Meanwhile, Paymaster-Lieut. Stannin had turned the wheel over to an able seaman and, staggering back to the partially demolished bridge, had taken charge of the ship. He had, he said, no idea of what was going on aft, but, as the enemy was now looming up abreast, he decided to run them.

Just as this audacious action was about to be carried out, a shell exploded in "Hardy's" engine-room, clouds of choking steam burst forth, and the vessel at once slackened speed. There was only one thing to do—to save his comrades' lives—put the helm over and beach the ship. The Paymaster-Lieutenant did it: Going slower and slower, the gallant "Hardy" ran into shallow water and, with a grinding crunch, grounded on the rocks. Devastating fire still raked her at short range, to which the one usable gun was still defiantly replying when the final command was given on the battered destroyer: "Abandon ship! Every man for himself. And good luck!" It was the last order—dramatic enough—that Capt. Warburton-Lee, mortally wounded, was ever to give.

Meantime, the battle had gone hard with the rest of the flotilla. "Hunter" had been sunk, and both "Hostile" and "Hotspar" damaged. On the other side, however, there was much to balnace this. In addition to the destroyer torpedosed by "Hardy" in Narvik harbour, six supply ships had been sunk, while one of the other German warships was destroyed and two were seriously hit and set on fire. (The two destroyers sunk were the...
yards and then waiting double that distance to the shore. The only boat left proved unseaworthy, and there were many badly wounded. For a while, too, the Germans continued to fire. Splashing, stumbling, struggling, the ghastly procession made its way to land—in its midst its noble commander lashed to a stretcher and towed by McPhakeen, the gunner, and one sailor. When this strange funeral barge grounded at last, Capt. Warburton-Lee was dead. His last signal to the flotilla had been "Continue to engage the enemy," and for his gallantry, enterprise and daring in command of the force engaged in the first battle of Narvik, Capt. Warburton-Lee was awarded the Victoria Cross—the first to be given in the Second Great War.

Half clothed and numb with cold, the survivors of the "Hardy" staggered half a mile across the snow to a cluster of wooden huts, where warmth, shelter and hospitality awaited them at the hands of the Norwegian folk.

Later they made their way to Ballangen, fifteen miles away on the south side of Ofot Fjord, where they stayed till the following Saturday, April 13.

This then, was the first battle of Narvik; its sequel was not long in coming. All Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of that second week in April the surviving units of the Second Destroyer Flotilla, with reinforcements, blockaded the enemy in Ofot Fjord. Then on Saturday, April 13, at noon, the second attack was launched. Very different in strength from the fearless five was the imposing fleet, under the command of Vice-Admiral W. J. Whitworth, which now advanced on Narvik through the mist and drizzle. Led by H.M.S. "Icarus," it consisted of the destroyers "Hero," "Foxhound," "Kinderley" and "Forester"; the Tribal class destroyers "Bedouin," "Punjabi," "Eskimo," and "Cossack" (of "Almark" fame); and the 30,000-ton battle-ship "Warspite," mounting eight 15-in. guns and eight 6-in. guns. Air reconnaissance was carried out by the "Warspite's" aircraft.

By 12.26 p.m. the narrow channel to Ofot Fjord was successfully navigated—no mean feat for a great vessel like the "Warspite"—and the first German destroyer sighted through the mist. The four leading destroyers opened fire, but the German ships sheered off and disappeared. Twenty minutes later another enemy destroyer, followed by a third, appeared to the east of the British forces and action was at once joined, the
MR. CHURCHILL WELCOMES HARDY SURVIVORS.

"Warpite," adding her ear-splitting salutes to the din of the conflict. Warning was then received from the "Warpite's" aircraft that a warship was lying in wait in Ballangay Bay to the south, and soon after 1 p.m. this vessel was spotted and maneuvered by "Icarus," "Belkem," "Pum- phin," and "Eskimo." She put up a brave resistance, however, and it was not until "Warpite's" booming voice was heard in the argument that her last gun was silenced and she was reduced to a blazing hulk.

While the British ships were virtually unharmed, one German destroyer was a fire-sweep wreck in Ballangay Bay; another, abandoned by her crew, was drifting derelict north of Narvik, and a third was aground on the northeastern shore of Herjamps Fjord with a huge column of black smoke bellying from her interior. The remaining enemy ships were in retreat into the doubtful sanctuary of Romala Fjord, dropping smoke floats as they fled.

To describe the "Warpite's" share in the general destruction it is necessary to go back to 1:30 p.m., at which hour the great battleship was taking station to bombard the coastal fortifications around Narvik harbor. Shortly afterwards the bay reverberated with the bellowing roar of her guns, with which were mingled sharper reports from the armament of the destroyers "Eskimo," "Punjabi," and "Foxhound," which cut close into the harbor and pounded the shore batteries at a range of less than half a mile.

Meanwhile, a perilous chase was in progress up the tortuous ten-mile narrows of Rombaks Fjord, where "Eskimo," "Förster," "Hero," "Bodulin," and "Icarus" were hotly pursuing the four German destroyers as yet unaccounted for. Not without damage to "Eskimo," which led the way, the hunters eventually ran their quarry to ground at the dead-end of the fjord. Here, right up against the ice, by three of them, while the fourth was beached on the southern shore. It was the end. The crews had escaped inland, but "Hero" and "Kimberley" then awaited the hour of amputation and burning shells and torpedoes, destroyed the Germans for good.

So ended the second battle of Narvik. Nine enemy destroyers were demolished (the "Hether von Roden," "Hans Lüdemann," "Wolfgang Zenker," "Berno von Amin," "Kehr Koellner," "Hermann Kunze," "Epich Goss," "Bruno Heynemann" and "Georg Thiele") and the shore batteries silenced at a cost of three British destroyers damaged. Their work well done, the attackers re-formed and withdrew, leaving "Kimberley" and "Ivanhoe" in possession of the fjord. The Admiralty signalled their congratulations to the Commander-in-Chief, Admiral Sir Charles Forbes, to Vice-Admiral Whitworth, and to the officers and men engaged in "this vigorous, daring and skillfully conducted action."

It remains to tell of a happy tale that fell to "Ivanhoe." While she was patrolling in Ofot Fjord late that Saturday night, her attention was attracted by the flashing signals of a launch away towards the entrance of Ballangay Bay. Investigating, she discovered it was Lieut. Heppel of "Hardy," trying to make contact so that he could resume his patrol back in Ballangay might be resumed. And rescued they were—by midnight all the motley-garbed survivors were aboard a British ship once again.

The time and the scene change is the evening of the following Friday on the Horse Guards Parade. Watched by a cheering crowd of Londoners, this same strangely dressed party being greeted by Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty. "Your countrymen are well content with the manner in which you have discharged your duties," he said. "You have shown not only the courage and the readiness to take opportunities by the hand and make your way through difficult situations which are always associated with the battles of our destroyers force."

As to Narvik—that lonely place—its subsequent history after such a spectacular entry into the arena of war was somewhat of an anti-climax. Befriended by Allied troops—British, French, Norwegians and Poles—it was eventually captured on May 28, only to be evacuated shortly after when the focal point of the war in the West had shifted to Flanders.
BRITISH TROOPS IN NORTHERN WATERS

These photographs afford two glimpses of the British forces which took part in the Norwegian campaign. Above, troops on board a transport are seen lined up on deck, wearing lifebelts in case of emergency. Accompanying the transport is a British destroyer. Below, men of the British Expeditionary Force after disembarking in Narves Fjord.

Photos, British Official / Crown Copyright / Topical
"WARSPITE" GOES INTO ACTION AT THE SECOND BATTLE OF NARVIK

Impressive weight was sent to the powerful British naval force sent against Narvik on April 13, 1940, by the 30,000-ton battleship "Warship." A great skill in navigation was called for to ensure a safe passage through the narrow approach to Otterford. Her chief task in the operations was the reduction by bombardment of the German shore batteries, and this she successfully accomplished. Aircraft of the Fleet Air Arm attached to "Warship" encountered only one Hainial while they were keeping Vice-Admiral Whitworth informed of the progress of the fight. Led by the destroyers "Bedouin" and "Jason," the "Warship" is here seen steaming to her station outside Narvik Bay.

Photo, "The Times"